





## HOME NEWS

## Action more urgent than unity facade, Tory spokesman says

By George Clark  
Political Correspondent

Government proposals for tackling inflation, as they stand now, are incomplete and inadequate, Sir Geoffrey Howe, QC, the Shadow Chancellor, said yesterday.

"Fudged decisions would be disastrous," he said. "The overriding objective of defeating inflation needs to be supported by the determination of a united government."

"It is more important to secure the implementation of the economic measures now necessary than to maintain a facade of unity within a deeply divided Labour Cabinet."

Sir Geoffrey was reflecting a general feeling among Conservative MPs that economic events have compelled Mr. Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to make a hurried statement roughly outlining his policy, but that the promised "economic package" was still far from being settled.

He said that the Prime Minister and Mr. Healey had slightly retreated from their firm position of last Monday when they met representatives of the unions and employers at the meeting of the National Economic Development Council yesterday, and when Mr. Healey discussed government plans with Mr. Murray, TUC general secretary.

Labour left-wingers quickly seized upon Mr. Healey's statement to NEDC that there would be no question of punishing working people for any breach of the 10 per cent wage rise limit.

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## Chancellor opposed to criminal sanctions

Continued from page 1

From the Chancellor, I contacted Mr. Len Murray, the TUC general secretary. I confirmed our policy decision in support of the social contract, and made it quite clear that this is where the TGV stands and will stand.

I said we will want clarification of parts of the statement made by the Chancellor. As late as 1.30 am today Len Murray, who had been in touch with the Chancellor, telephoned me and he said quite clearly that the Chancellor had confirmed to him that there would be no statutory regulation of wages. This is a quite firm statement made by the Chancellor to the general secretary of the TUC.

Urgent talks were being arranged with the Government, but he was the servant of this conference and he intended to remain in Blackpool until it ended tomorrow. After that he will be free to take part in negotiations with the Government, and it is likely that the pace of consultations will accelerate early next week when the crucial debate on wages is due to take place at the miners' conference in Scarborough.

An emergency meeting of the TUC general council may be called, and this could be followed later in the month by a special conference of trade union executives to give rapid endorsement to the tougher version of the social contract as the unions' contribution to the fight against inflation.

Mr. Jones gave an assurance "absolutely and definitively" that the union's policy decision taken two days ago in support of voluntary wage restraint tied to a price control would be pursued in the talks with ministers. "We will try to ensure that these policies are accepted. There are two sides to the social contract—ours and the Government's. We expect the Government to honour their side just as we are entitled to expect us to play our part."

A left-wing move to have Mr. Healey's plan debated by the conference of the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers, said yesterday.

Nothing would deter the union this summer from pursuing the £40 claim determined at its national delegate conference, he said. The basic weekly minimum wage is £28.50 at present.

Mr. Healey's proposed 10 per cent wage limitation will provide only trivial increases for the low-paid like farm workers, for whom it is a smack in the eye, Mr. Bortin said.

Mr. Geoffrey Drayton, general secretary of the National and Local Government Officers Association, said his first reaction to the Chancellor's statement was concern for the lower paid. The impact on those least able to bear the brunt of inflation was alarming, he said.

major sections of the shipping industry are facing a period of intense recession and when the shipping companies have made a substantial pay settlement in respect of their officers' wages, and are now planning a restructuring of the latter's leave and hours arrangements.

In the council's opinion, shipping management and the union have a moral obligation to accept the award, made by the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service.

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## Ready market for rarities in modern art but not for anything below the best £210,000 for Monet painting, £170,000 for Braque

By Geraldine Norman  
Sale Room Correspondent

The market in modern paintings has been shown up in the past two days as the weakest sector of the art market. There are buyers for top quality but not for lesser items.

There have been three sales: one of indifferent quality at Christie's on Tuesday morning, a high quality single collection at Sotheby's on Tuesday night and one of indifferent quality at Sotheby's yesterday.

Yesterday's sale at Sotheby's paralleled Christie's the day before: 30 out of 83 lots were sold below estimate and 22 were sold below reserve.

At Christie's roughly half the sale was unsold, although only about five lots sold below estimate. In both cases the most distinguished work found a buyer at a high price.

At Sotheby's yesterday a rare painting of about 1900, "Barth" by Cezanne, was sold for £160,000 (estimate £75,000-£95,000). At Christie's a Degas pastel of dancers had made £94,500 (estimate £50,000-£75,000).

Sotheby's sale on Tuesday night was exceptional in many ways. It comprised a single distinguished French collection; the collection was practically unknown to connoisseurs; and on loan to exhibitions they were in outstanding condition.

The sale had clearly fired imaginations; although

Christie's and Sotheby's morning sales were sparsely attended by normal standards, Sotheby's had packed three rooms for the evening sale and there were more bidders standing.

The most distinguished paintings went to very high prices. Monet's "Rouen Cathedral" (estimate £125,000-£150,000) sold for £210,000; a large Braque still life of 1941 to £170,000 (estimate £140,000-£160,000); and three Fauve Vlaminks at £130,000, £118,000 and £101,000 (two above estimate and one below).

Two late Pissarro brought £120,000 and £80,000. Competition was strong for the real rarities, with many new collectors after top quality. Lower down the scale there was much less interest.

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## Parents and children march on Westminster

By Pat Healy  
Social Services Correspondent

One of the happiest of mass demonstrations took place in London yesterday when five thousand parents and children marched on Westminster to demand action on the Finer Report on One Parent Families.

But the seriousness of their purpose clearly went home; the Labour Party whips were stung into producing a briefing paper for the backbench MPs, declaring that the Government had acted swiftly.

The demonstration was organized by Gingerbread to mark the first anniversary of the publication of the Finer report, which the claim has not been implemented.

Miss Ruth Cohen, national groups organizer of Gingerbread, said that one-parent families were angry because a year after the report little had been done. They wanted action on the recommendations of the one-parent families should have a cash allowance, that a system of family courts should be introduced, and that there should be better day-care facilities and housing policies for them.

The Labour Party briefing said that Gingerbread was wrong in claiming that the Government had largely ignored those recommendations. It said the Government had responded swiftly, and produced a long list of action items.

It said the Government had rejected the particular form of cash benefit proposed by Finer, but had instead raised all existing benefits, and was introducing family allowances for the first time in one-parent families.

Mr. Meacher, Under-Secretary of State for Social Security, talked to a deputation from Gingerbread for about an hour and then addressed a meeting of parents.

He engaged his audience by expressing sympathy but stating bluntly that the resources simply were not available yet.

Since the present programme of executive releases was resumed on June 10 after a halt caused by the murder of a Londonderry policeman, a surprisingly high total of 44 men have been freed. This leaves 260 republicans still held without trial. The last remaining loyalist prisoners were freed just







## HOME NEWS

## Inflation a threat to law and order, Home Secretary says

From Clive Borrell

Eastbourne

A warning that inflation could lead to a breakdown in law and order came from Mr Jenkins, Home Secretary, last night.

Speaking to delegates of the Association of Chief Police Officers at Eastbourne, he said: "At the present time our understandable preoccupation is, individually and nationally, with the economic challenge which faces us and the damaging and potentially divisive and indeed destructive problems of inflation."

"Inflation in itself at a high rate encourages individuals from holding on to a proper sense of perspective and generates a feeling of uncertainty about the future which touches all aspects of public affairs."

"The rule of law and the preservation of individual liberty are not in themselves immune from the effect of this public unease."

"Your job and mine is to maintain the full measure of public support for the rule of law."

Referring to anxiety about the law on rape, Mr Jenkins said: "Public shock, outrage and confusion is understandable and needs to be met by an adequate and comprehensible response if

an apparent threat to the rule of law is not to assume a significance out of proportion to its seriousness."

The position of the law on rape was not clear-cut. He had formed a small independent advisory group to report in the early autumn on whether a change in the law was desirable. "I believe that a combination of urgency and cool rational analysis is necessary here," Mr Jenkins said.

Turning to the question of introducing an independent element into the investigation of complaints against the police, Mr Jenkins said that consultations had been concluded, and he would be making a detailed announcement of his conclusions.

"I can say that, while the essential features of the outline scheme announced last July will be retained, I shall announce some changes in the details in the light of views that have been expressed."

He listed basic principles to be retained: "That investigation of complaints in the first instance should remain in the hands of the police; that police officers should not be placed in a double jeopardy; and that the chief officer's responsibility for the discipline of his force should not be undermined."

Spurred on by the unruly left wing, which resigned from the executive to force a rapid decision, members of more moderate factions are now demanding that the problem should be tackled by the national council to be summoned as soon as possible.

They have been careful to emphasize that they are not seeking a scapegoat, but the national council has the power to remove Sir John Farnham from the secretaryship and the left wing could hardly be prevented from asking it to do so.

Members of various factions are reported to have pressed Sir John Farnham to resign of his own accord during private talks yesterday but he is said to remain determined to stay unless voted out of office.

One problem worrying Christian Democrats is that of the regional governments and provincial and municipal administrations formed after the elections. In numerous cases the Socialists have the choice of teaming up with the Communists to form a left-wing administration or the Christian Democrats in a centre-left one. There is no doubt that the Socialists often prefer the first possibility.

This morning's Copcon, the internal military security force, took over the main building of the state-owned Lisbon and Oporto Telephone Company, where 4,500 telephonists have been intensifying their two-

week-old strike for higher wages. The Government has refused to meet their demands. Copcon today ordered the strikers to work normally. Troops sealed off the street and checked everyone entering and leaving the building. A Copcon statement accused the strikers of refusing to negotiate.

There were angry scenes at railway stations in and around Lisbon today. Demonstrations organized by Maoists and the far left against a 50 per cent increase in fares, introduced yesterday, prevented people buying tickets and ticket inspection on the trains was threatened. At one of the main stations in Lisbon this morning railway employees formed lines to protect passengers going to the platforms, while Maoists waited in groups outside.

During the evening rush-hour, Copcon was called to an urban station to prevent clashes. Members of the security forces held animated discussions with protesters, who handed out leaflets saying the rise in fares was an attack on the working class. It was impossible to buy tickets and everyone travelled home free.

Lisbon, July 2.—Portuguese police have captured four more of the 89 former secret police agents who escaped from a security prison on Sunday. Only 33 of them were still at large today.—Agence France Presse.

Eight are killed in French plane crash

Nantes, July 2.—A Beechcraft of the French regional airline, Touraine Transport, crashed tonight on take-off at Nantes, taking the lives of eight people on board.—AP.

London man robbed of £30,000 jewelry

Cannes-sur-Mer, July 2.—Thieves ransacked the Côte d'Azur holiday home of Mr Peter Raymond, a London hairdresser, taking the jewelry worth more than £30,000.

Reformer smokes cannabis before police

From Patricia Clough Rome, July 2

With all the publicity his followers could drum up, Italy's leading rights campaigner, Signor Marco Pannella, today had himself arrested for using and possessing drugs.

The declared purpose of the operation was to apply the Government to change Italian archaic drug laws. Signor Pannella and his tiny Radical Party want legislation within three months to legalize the sale and use of Indian hemp (cannabis), which they say is non-habit forming, punish peddlers of other drugs with 25 years jail and provide for the cure, rather than the imprisonment, of addicts.

At present those who smuggle, sell, use or possess drugs are all punished indiscriminately with three to eight years jail.

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## WEST EUROPE

## Fanfani loss of support among party leaders

From Patricia Clough

Rome, July 2

Signor Amintore Fanfani, the Christian Democrat Party secretary, was losing support among leaders of his party today as the tense session of its executive wore on into its third day.

The length of the meeting and the intensity of the discussions behind the scenes among party leaders indicate the great difficulty the leadership is having in deciding how to face the big electoral setback on June 2.

One by one leading party figures long regarded as Signor Fanfani's allies have disagreed with his proposal to leave the post-electoral renewal of the party to a congress to be held at the end of the year. This would leave Signor Fanfani in charge of the party in the intervening months and, even more significantly, in charge of the preparations for this "re-founding".

Spurred on by the unruly left wing, which resigned from the executive to force a rapid decision, members of more moderate factions are now demanding that the problem should be tackled by the national council to be summoned as soon as possible.

They have been careful to emphasize that they are not seeking a scapegoat, but the national council has the power to remove Sir John Farnham from the secretaryship and the left wing could hardly be prevented from asking it to do so.

Members of various factions are reported to have pressed Signor Fanfani to resign of his own accord during private talks yesterday but he is said to remain determined to stay unless voted out of office.

One problem worrying Christian Democrats is that of the regional governments and provincial and municipal administrations formed after the elections. In numerous cases the Socialists have the choice of teaming up with the Communists to form a left-wing administration or the Christian Democrats in a centre-left one. There is no doubt that the Socialists often prefer the first possibility.

This morning's Copcon, the internal military security force, took over the main building of the state-owned Lisbon and Oporto Telephone Company, where 4,500 telephonists have been intensifying their two-

week-old strike for higher wages. The Government has refused to meet their demands. Copcon today ordered the strikers to work normally. Troops sealed off the street and checked everyone entering and leaving the building. A Copcon statement accused the strikers of refusing to negotiate.

There were angry scenes at railway stations in and around Lisbon today. Demonstrations organized by Maoists and the far left against a 50 per cent increase in fares, introduced yesterday, prevented people buying tickets and ticket inspection on the trains was threatened. At one of the main stations in Lisbon this morning railway employees formed lines to protect passengers going to the platforms, while Maoists waited in groups outside.

During the evening rush-hour, Copcon was called to an urban station to prevent clashes. Members of the security forces held animated discussions with protesters, who handed out leaflets saying the rise in fares was an attack on the working class. It was impossible to buy tickets and everyone travelled home free.

Lisbon, July 2.—Portuguese police have captured four more of the 89 former secret police agents who escaped from a security prison on Sunday. Only 33 of them were still at large today.—Agence France Presse.

Eight are killed in French plane crash

Nantes, July 2.—A Beechcraft of the French regional airline, Touraine Transport, crashed tonight on take-off at Nantes, taking the lives of eight people on board.—AP.

London man robbed of £30,000 jewelry

Cannes-sur-Mer, July 2.—Thieves ransacked the Côte d'Azur holiday home of Mr Peter Raymond, a London hairdresser, taking the jewelry worth more than £30,000.

Reformer smokes cannabis before police

From Patricia Clough Rome, July 2

With all the publicity his followers could drum up, Italy's leading rights campaigner, Signor Marco Pannella, today had himself arrested for using and possessing drugs.

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Warders strike in Canadian jail



Over-flowing Danube: Swollen by five days of

frank, summer storms, the Danube broke its banks in southern Bavaria and many parts of Austria yesterday. Shipping on much of the waterway was halted because the river had risen to a level of 23 feet, making bridges impassable. The Austrian authorities issued a "high water alarm" to alert residents of towns like Ybbs, in the photograph above, of the danger. In Vienna, the city's emergency staff met to work out possible evacuation measures if the Prater district and other areas were immersed. Late

last night the Handelskai, a street running along

the river, was flooded. The heavy rains took a heavy toll of lives. A landslide crushed a cottage in Oppnitz, 70 miles southwest of Vienna, killing two women; falling trees killed four people and a woman was drowned; two teenage hikers from Vienna were found frozen to death in the Carinthian mountains near the Yugoslav border and a Vienna-Basel passenger train, diverted to a secondary track because of a landslide, jumped the track at St Pölten and coaches overturned, injuring three passengers.

## Portuguese protest on control of radio

From Michael Binyon

Lisbon, July 2

Pickets stayed all day outside the entrance to the Renascença broadcasting station after a Government announcement last night that control of it should be returned to the Roman Catholic Church.

The announcement came after a meeting between General Vasco Gonçalves, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Social Communications and workers' representatives. It was challenged immediately by a group of workers who have been in control of the station.

A crowd gathered outside the building in the centre of Lisbon and pledged that the struggle would continue. Some remained all night. Today they said they were ready to resist any attempt to force the workers out of the building.

Representatives of the four nationalist newspapers and the Socialist newspaper *República* were again called to a meeting this afternoon with officers from the information section of the Armed Forces Movement to try to resolve the dispute, which has prevented publication for a month.

The two sides met jointly for the first time yesterday, but after eight hours talks were adjourned without result.

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## OVERSEAS

## British cash sought by African homelands

By Robert Fisk

A group of bankers and South

African chiefs arrived in London

yesterday to try to persuade

British companies to invest in

the tribal homelands of South

Africa.

At a crowded press confer-

ence, at which there were

repeated references to the

regions' "political stability",

they gave assurances about the

financial safeguards and con-

cessions available to investors,

which now include government

grants covering 100 per cent of

the cost of new buildings and 50

per cent of the remainder of

capital requirements.

It became clear that while con-

siderable trouble had been taken

to work out the complex system

of grants for businesses, an

attempt had yet been made to

draw up any financial safe-

guards over minimum wages for

workers.

In at least one homeland, the

Transkei, where the law still

allows the authorities to im-

prison without trial, the trade

unions are to be permitted when

independence is declared next

year.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the

Transkei leader, who said that

he wanted the British people to

take precedence in investing

their wealth in the homelands

because "Great Britain is the

colonial father of the Transkei",

said that he regarded trade

unionism as "a damaging fac-

tor" to investors and workers.

"We have learnt a lesson

from other countries where the

trade unions are concerned", he

said. "Great Britain, you see,

is a free country. It is to the

advantage of the industrialist?

It is to the advantage of the

worker?"

Dr J. Adendorff, managing

director of the Bantu Invest-

ment Corporation which this

year received 65m rand (about

£35m) from the South African

Government for investment in

the black homelands, said that

industrialists were guaranteed

against losses suffered from

"political action". This guaran-

tee was given, he said, "because

we are so sure we have political

stability in South Africa."

Critics of the South African

Government have alleged that

the nine black homelands, which

have for several years been

developing towards a form of

political self-determination, are

to be turned into little more

than client states of South

Africa.

They say that Dr Vorster's

Government is encouraging in-

vestment to prevent the growth

of black nationalism which

would threaten the republic's

security.

Dr Kissinger to meet Soviet

Foreign Minister

From Patrick Brogan

Washington, July 2

Dr Henry Kissinger is to meet Mr

Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign

Minister, in Geneva on Thurs-

day and Friday next week, "for

an exchange of view on mat-

ters of interest to both sides."

The Secretary of State does

not usually confine his visits

abroad to one country, and

there is therefore the strong

possibility that he is about to

resume some form of shuttle

diplomacy.

He will have other things to

talk to Mr Gromyko about be-

sides the Middle East. The

SALT-II talks have just resumed

in Geneva, and the European

security conference is expected to

open at the end of the month.















## BOOKS

## Raking the ashes

**Son and Lover**  
By Philip Callow  
(Bodley Head, 16)

How well by now we know it all. Dinky, mucky Eastwood, the psychological scars left by that devouring mother-love, Haggis Farm; all the girls, Jessie and Louie and Helen and Obergruppenshagen Frieda; Davidson Road School, Croydon, grim and earnest, with all the do-as-you-please mayhem of present educational methods still unguessed-at; the famous rows, with Murray, with Forster, with almost the whole of the personae sooner or later; Raminim, Lawrence's Utopia, which always receded as you marched towards it like a mirage, like Coleridge's Pantisocracy. Yes, oh yes, how thoroughly the volcanic ash left by the fires of genius has been raked over. We ought to declare a 10-year moratorium on biographies of D. H. Lawrence, author of one of the most over-rated (*Lady Chatterley*) and one of the greatest (*Women in Love*) novels of this century.

This is not to say that Philip Callow, in *Son and Lover*, doesn't write well and perceptively about the young Lawrence. He does. He is a good writer himself, and his manner, whilst not being in any way imitative of Lawrence, is in the Laurentian mode. His book is one by a man having an intuitive understanding of Lawrence's moods and methods.

So far as this is possible, Callow tries to present to us a Lawrence author of his own *Lehrjahre*. He searches through the novels for passages of dialogue and narrative which can stand as transcriptions from life. He blends in with these the voices of Jessie Chambers, Louie Burrows, Ada Lawrence, and the rest, as these can be heard in published reminiscences. All this makes for authenticity.

"No body can have the soul of me. My mother's luxury, and nobody can have it again." These are Lawrence's words, and Callow, rightly, finds his book on their essential truth. At the same time he's fairer, and more generous, to Arthur Law-

rence, the collier father, than many others have been. Arthur, kept outside the domestic sanctuary by the possessive tyrannies of the schoolmistress he'd married, used the pub too often as a refuge. But I see vitality and a rough, untutored sort of creativeness in Arthur. Lawrence wouldn't have become the idol of English A-levels if he had been a virgin birth and he'd had only Lydia Beardsall's genes to rely on. At the same time Callow rightly refuses to dismiss Ernest Weekley simply as an irrelevant and rather comical old fogey. Able, decent, dignified, cuckolded. Weekley earns the place in the story.

The importance of Frieda is much stressed. "Frieda's influence on his work was supreme." Certainly the influence was powerful, but Callow finds it much more beneficial than I would. Frieda was responsible for the rubbish. With the arrival of Frieda Callow thinks "his confidence in his own power became absolute." Yet Frieda was the one who wrote: "I don't really believe in *Sons and Lovers*; it feels as if there was nothing behind all those happenings, as if there were no hinterland of Seele." Here speaks the obdurate Obergruppenführerin.

Callow ends his book with the Cornish heira of the late war years. This was a desperately unhappy time for Lawrence, and Callow describes the tortures, terrors and humiliations with fine understanding. I believe the strains and agonies of this period warped and diminished permanently Lawrence's greatness as an artist. After the war the rubbishy elements in his work, nourished by Frieda, begin to grow and take hold like weeds in a rich and fertile garden.

Even as early as 1923, in *Kangaroo*, you find a passage like "If a man is to be brought to any sort of heel, he must be a Jewish financier." And this is rubbish, say what you like. So Philip Callow is right to finish where he does. Now for that moratorium.

David Williams

## Black and white but red all over

**Newspaper Money**  
Fleet Street and the search for the Affluent Reader  
By Fred Hirsch and David Gordon  
(Hutchinson, £3.75 and £1.75)

**Paper Voices**  
The Popular Press and Social Change 1935-65  
By A. C. H. Smith  
With Elizabeth Immirzi and Trevor Blackwell  
(Chatto & Windus, £4.50)

These two books are refreshingly different from most of the other works on the subject which either sneer at the gutter press, defend it, or laud the serious papers, taking the whole subject so seriously that the results are often both subjective and pompous.

*Newspaper Money* is a comparatively slim volume of 141 pages, and it includes many tables intended to any student of the newspaper business. And I do mean business. This is a sane, balanced book full of carefully homeworked data on circulations, advertising and the revenues they yield compared with the actual truths of costs. Despite the fact that most of these are relevant only for the five years up to the end of September, it is easy to track the bad years and the good, and particularly interesting to see how closely the income and costs began to come together.

The book is concerned mainly with the serious, upmarket press and the "quality" press, which attracts advertisers because its pages are closely scanned by the rich. Contrasts with the "popular" press are pointed up, both in economic and customer-appeal contexts. But the authors, both spawned by *The Economist*, are so much in love with the serious papers that they become totally subjective and illogical when seeking a remedy, a redress of the imbalance of readers between serious and popular papers. In saying nothing of the "unfairness" of advertising support for one title rather than another, apparently *Guardian* devotees, they outline the suggested cure they have already put to the *Reader*.

Briefly, a newspaper selling between 50,000 and a million copies would get a "prize" from the Treasury, a bounty for putting on 10,000 extra readers but only if advertising revenue did not exceed 75 per cent of total income. Since the bounty is suggested at £100,000, it is hardly high enough to tempt newspaper managements to encourage such changes as would draw the extra sales. The result would inevitably be two-fold: profitable and uneconomic and would undoubtedly displease as many readers as it might please.

The object is to give the "best" papers, in the opinion of the donors, a financial lifeline. This is where the subjectivity overrides common sense. Given no *Sun* or *Daily Mirror*, would their readers desert to *The Guardian* and *The Times*? No. They would just go without newspapers altogether (an offence to the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* to the other serious papers, since I was merely using examples). The *Financial Times*, with its own highly specialized market, might survive some straining of two worlds, but would it slim down its high proportion of advertising revenue to earn a mere £100,000—if it could win the extra 10,000 readers? It would be insane to do so and to end not being sufficiently loved by its readers. And believe me, the nakedness that magnetizes *Sun* readers does not reproduce well on pink paper. In any case, would any editor or management be prepared to risk his freedom for a Government subsidy so paltry?

Newspapers have tried, over and over again, to be most things to most men and women. Their deaths are barely remembered except by rufous investors. Much as the Hirsch-Gordon idea is worth airing in discussions while so many titles struggle for survival, it is just as well to say that it is not a solution nor even a practical idea.

*Paper Voices* tries to relate two newspapers' changes in leader or gossip columns, features and news to world events. Two papers, the *Mirror* and *Daily Express*, were chosen and their contents were studied, dissected and criticized or commented upon during the war through to a more affluent Britain. Without positivity, the author manages to be very funny in showing, with quoted passages, the subtly changing attitudes to altering social cohesion and class structure. The *Mirror* with reasonably high proportion of graduates on its staff, sarcastically demolishes the *Newspaper* and *Robbins* reports on equal education by applauding them while praising the posher papers which criticized them. The *Express*, which likes to hide such un-British characteristics as criticism and pessimism under its daily optimism, took little notice of either report except to state that the country could not afford to implement such radical ideas. Social change, as met or defied head-on by what were then Britain's two daily best-sellers, is interesting in itself. Translated by these two titles, it becomes both amusing and interesting.

Sheila Black



Arriving for the Second Quebec Conference, September, 1944.

## The vital friendship

**Roosevelt and Churchill**  
Their Secret Wartime Correspondence  
Edited by Francis L. Loewenheim, Harold D. Langley and Maureen Jonas  
(Barrie & Jenkins, £10)

"The bride arrives here noon today", Churchill informed Roosevelt from Algiers on May 31, 1943. "I thought Anthony would make a better best man than I. I am therefore reserving for myself the part of heavy father."

The "bride" was Charles de Gaulle, the "bridegroom" Henri de Giraud. Churchill and Eden were effecting the shotgun wedding that would unite under one policy and determine the future of France. The marriage was a political union, not a personal one. Churchill's feelings about De Gaulle are hardly unambiguous but what may come as a surprise to English readers is that by the side of Roosevelt they are positively and consistently indulgent. Not only did the President seldom make jokes of any kind in the course of his correspondence with Churchill, but two weeks later he was writing:

"I am fed up with De Gaulle. . . I am absolutely convinced that he has been and is now inflicting on our war effort and on me a very dangerous threat to us. . . I agree with you that the time has arrived when we must break with him."

That they did not would be due to the pragmatic and emotional nature of Churchill's political temperament, for on every page of what the three American editors are quite justified in calling "one of the most extraordinary collections of letters in modern history", the President moves on an altogether different, loftier and more secretive plane. The supreme difference between the two men was constitutional: Roosevelt was Head of State, Churchill, who had no right to submit himself, twice, for reelection, during the period of their great collaborative friendship.

Both were transparent figures, the Prime Minister in the sense that he found it impossible to hide his feelings, which expressed at all times an historical consciousness of extreme sensitivity. The President in that, though virtually unbreakable, he was a man of powerful emotions. Roosevelt in his dealings with Churchill, partly accountable for by failing health, partly by the invisible presence of Congress, partly by the authorship of his communications, frequently not his, though always seen, approved and often amended by him; Churchill's words were his own. Yet Roosevelt's powers of expression were more enigmatic and anonymous, he was deeply moved, as who would not be, to receive messages like this:

Of course I made it clear to the French that we

After I was Sixty: the autobiography of Lord Thomson is reviewed by Lord Longford on page 14.

## Finders keepers

**Beachcombing for Beginners**  
By Norman Hickin  
(David & Charles, £3.50)

**The Fortune-Hunter's Guide**  
By Peter Haining  
(Sidgwick & Jackson, £2.75)

The titles of these two books tell almost all. The first is concerned with serendipity—a layman's guide to wendeltraps, Venus's flower baskets, egg cases, Yon Port Jackson sharks and a species of limpet called "fornicata" which changes from male to female as it gets older. It is about finding things on the beach and collecting them simply and solely because they give them a name.

There's a crabbed anecdote about Welsh and fool's gold, and oil struck by the Duke of Devonshire in Derbyshire in 1919, a box of diamonds sunk off Harlepool because the dead

owner had willed it, and pearl fishing in Scotland. It is about finding things which will bring riches untold and undreamt of. Mr Hickin, I feel, is the realist. Those familiar with his study of the Wyre Forest will instantly recognize his excellent straggled drawings and his painstakingly enthusiastic approach to the environment.

He is obviously an assiduous walker of shores and describes them from Norfolk to New Zealand with first hand knowledge, but more important he is also an observant and knowledgeable one. There are some peculiarly telling examples of how an inordinately keen eye will reveal extraordinary finds not apparent to those who look around with a less practised and inquisitive eye. In Kenya, for instance, he was intrigued by a small, biscuit-shaped whitish object protruding from the sand in a way which struck him as odd. When he unearthed it he found a human skull.

Such dramatic finds are uncommon in Mr Hickin's book for he is able to take pleasure

in the commonplace, but in Mr Haining's world of chance and drama is essential. One of his first illustrations is entitled simply "Lord Kilbracken using a metal detector" and it is symptomatic.

This is not in any way to deny his book which is full of deliciously exotic offerings. A man in Little Wymondley, Hertfordshire, once dug up 577 sixteenth-century silver groats and Ben Pond of Andover finds 15,000 worth of coins, silver every year. "You two" is his implication though I confess to being a little daunted by the curious local rhymes which always accompany claims of treasure trove.

*Near the brook of Bell*  
Which is richer than any man runs one while another claims, if Auchindownie cock dinsa crows,  
And Balmain horn dinsa bla, I'll tell ye where the good mine is in Largo Law.  
If you believe that you will believe anything.

Michael Ratcliffe

Tim Heald

## Fiction

**A Cry of Angels**  
By Jeff Fields  
(Gollancz, £3.95)

It seemed to me that there was something faintly—and pleasantly—familiar about *A Cry of Angels*. There is a young genius of an architect, Jayell, who prefers to work for the poor, Earl, an orphan boy brought up by his great-aunt, who runs a boarding house for a collection of eccentric old people. Then there's Bhedra Bogg, the gorgeous local girl who loves Jayell, and the equally gorgeous Gwen, who marries him, and JoJoan, a gigantic drunken Indian. There's a crabbed ancient store keeper who has adopted Tio, who is black. It reminds me of one of those Frank Capra films where everyone is dory and lovable, employing the services of several Barrymores and James Stewart.

This story takes place in dreadful Quarrytown, Georgia, where the only product is

granite for tombstones, a failing enterprise now run by the richest man in town, the black undertaker, "Doc" Bobo. The poor whites and poorer blacks live in Ape Town under the cruel reign of Doc and his dog Bowsy, the dog of Georgian Tomcat.

The childhood of the boy Earl in the old people's home, protected by JoJoan, forms the backbone of the novel, which is Jeff Fields' first. He has a very nice touch with characterizations and descriptive passages. The terrifying end of Doc Bobo, killed by the mob, is enough to make the scalp crawl, but the ending, fortunately for us, is happy, if improbable.

Philippa Toomey

Chalky, by Matthew Vaughan (Secker & Warburg, £2.90). A rather self-conscious attempt to write a Victorian novel, the protagonist being Chalky, deserted child of a prostitute, orphanage-raised, befriended by an Anglican clergyman, a disciple of Newman. Chalky rises to become an army officer, dying during a punitive expedition in Africa. Slender plot, characters one-dimensional—but not uninteresting. A good try.

## An austere mould

**The Later Cecils**  
By Kenneth Rose  
(Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £5.50)

There were seven of them—the children of the great Lord Salisbury who was three times Queen Victoria's Prime Minister. Each proved remarkable, none was to leave more than the faintest imprint upon events. Yet their lives, spanning a hundred years of social and political upheaval, are worthy of commemoration in this charming and affectionate family portrait.

Linky (Lord Hugh), "the most nimble-minded Cecil of all", discovered that the intellect of a High Tory combined with the intensity of a High Anglican stood him in better stead as a disconcerting Provost of Eton than as a destructive parliamentary tactician. His oldest brother, Jim, the fourth Marquess, though he sat in three Conservative cabinets, was considered by his father to be "not morally insensitive enough" to fight a marginal seat. Bob (Lord Robert) of Leinster, a member of the League of Nations and Peace Ballot fame, was told that he lacked both the egoism and the malice necessary to write successful memoirs. Fish (Lord William), who "genuinely bicycled round his diocese in a perpetual haze of absent-mindedness which earned him the sobriquet Love-in-a-mist."

Only Nigs (Lord Edward) gambled wildly and ran into debt and thus broke the square mould of Cecilian rectitude. But he, as it turns out, possessed at least something of the statecraft and administrative skills associated with his Cecil forbears. Lady Maude, too, would have shown to advantage had she been reared into the age of equal opportunities. But in her marriage to the Earl of Selborne she more than compensated for the occasional dour during her official receptions with an intrepid spirit that courageously refused to be intimidated by the South African in England.

But it was Tim (Lady Gwen) who best typified the later Cecils. First her father's ambassador, then his biographer, she possessed a formidable intellect that was total untrained and unadorned. She dressed in rags held together by diamonds. When she stepped off the pavement headless, the traffic and collided with taxi-cab her brother Edw explained:

Tim says she has a right to the road where she likes, principles of no family are dangerous.

Neither inconvenience danger could divert them from their chosen path. The Cecil possessed an absolute certainty that they were right. In that they were sustained by a sincere Christian belief. But Christ, as Hugh was constrained to point out, "not a gentleman", and family's intestine dislike of the commercial greed they clung with them—was far below the surface.

I don't deny their intellect (Robert wrote on one occasion that they were squallid some and I'm never at my ease when they are in the room).

M. C. M. was the code for Middle Class Mc (Neville Chamberlain was and even in the next generation the fifth Marquess dismisses the late Lady M with a patronising "too clever by half") and at a colleague whose accented a humble birth and cation: "He makes us all so common."

*The Later Cecils* confirms position. Kenneth Rose, lished with his earlier work of *Curzon* as biographer, admirable detachment at crumination. He writes style and distinction. It gains prose, backed by chosen photographs (seven Lewis Carroll, and a ge indolent, a reflection of excellence and an sense of public service the later Cecils a posit honour that they might claimed as a right but they chose to earn by it.

Michael V

PS: While reading, try give an altogether quantity of misprints.

## Crime

**The 100 Kilo Club**  
By Simon Gandolfi  
(Wildwood House, £2.95)

The 100 Kilo Club, for those of you who did not know, as I did not, comprises that select band of individuals who have successfully smuggled a consignment of hashish weighing 100 kilograms. Gandolfi can tell us about it because, although he never became a member, he has smuggled hash (and has gone to prison for it in Denmark, in moderately quixotic circumstances).

His book is chiefly valuable as an authentic record of drug country, that amorphous territory most inhabited by under-thinkers and stretching from Goa to the Gulf of Alaska. But knowing the facts is not enough. You must be able to put them over unimpeded. Gandolfi can. In direct prose in the Hemingway tradition he shows us what it's like down there. "Dirt and sweat oozed along the folds of his neck like chocolate sandwich filling."

That description is not of a pot-smoker but of a junkie, someone on heroin. And Gandolfi distinguishes sharply between the two. If he implies mild establishment at the life patterns of the quixotic, he states a plain and strong distaste for the pushers of the hard drugs that provenly destroy. He rises then sometimes beyond mere authentic description, perhaps even nudging into semi-sensuality (old Hemingway). But he has enough of the writer's instinct to keep this tendency well in check, and for the most part his story of a smuggler beginning to grow old and a United States anti-narcotics agent on the way to becoming a lush end of the old relationship between them is wryly attractive. At times it is, too, simply exciting and it is always fascinatingly revealing.

By Hook Or By Crook, b Latham (Gollancz, £2.80) any ups or downs in We revelations formula. T. it's Persian carpets v wisecracks.

Gently With Love, t Hunter (Cassell, £2.50) in his affection exposing murder mystery, coming fisherfolk background, in cleverly appropriat style, by painstaking Super dent.

Equal Antagonisms, by Pereira (Collins, £2.65) plex bitten bitter bites cease. Intriguing over author's typewriter biography. Interesting of artist heavily over with twists and turns. P.

A Show of Violence, t Woods (Macmillan, £2.25) won't murder suspect b You read and read to fi And Yorkshire back and a court climax.

Kosygin Is Coming, b Ardies (Angus & Rol £2.80). Jokey agents b intriguingly set in Smooth, bouncing fast.

H.R.F.K.

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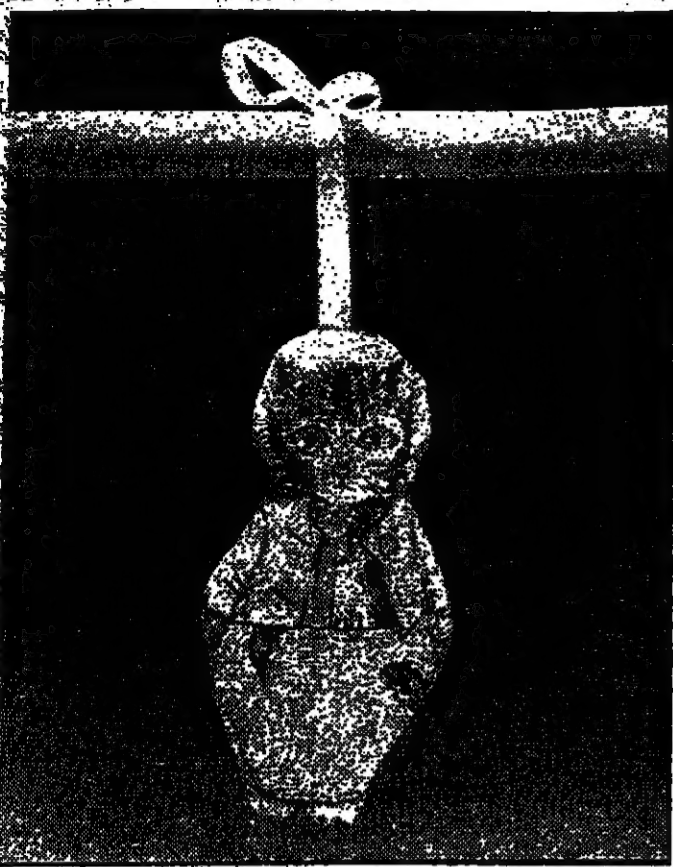
PRAEDON



## Shopping/Philippa Toomey

### Thanks for the memory

My pleasure in a holiday is rekindled when I contemplate the things I have bought—sometimes buying another suitcase do so. Some of our British souvenirs are a national disgrace in the point of view of design and price, but there are plenty that are beautiful, useful, and even funny. Among my own favourites are *Make your own Castle of Culzean*, a book containing a cutout model of Robert Adams's 18th century design now lying in ruins around me—what it needs is the uninterupted and intelligent attention of a 10 year old (£1.50 Thurman Publishing/The National Trust of Scotland) and a polaroid photograph of a very small lion and me wrapped in a warm embrace at Woburn (£50p). Each to his own taste, so here are a few to look out for on your wanderings.



Tom Kitten looks lonely without Hunca Munca and Peter Rabbit, three in a boxed set of authentically coloured Beatrix Potter lavender bags from The National Trust. £1.02 a box, 34p singly, 8p and 51p postage.

A day trip to Brighton produced some edible souvenirs: a set of pink and white sugar teeth cleaved on a toffee (60p), a shining blue fish against some lifelike pebbles in a shell (70p), a stick of genuine Brighton rock (30p) and some giant humbugs for your friends in politics (25p), from shops between the piers. (I have spared you the life-sized pink sugar rat.) Regency Brighton has some lovely presents too, including a set of playing cards with contemporary cartoon figures for the court cards (£1.20 boxed set of 2) from the Royal Pavilion souvenir shop, which I highly recommend. Cheapest and prettiest is a pastiche Regency design on wrapping paper, two shades of yellow or blue on pink, 5p a sheet from K. J. Bredon's Bookshop, East Street, which is a treat in itself.

Centenary for Gilbert and Sullivan, and Spode has this amusing 10 1/2 in plate, with one character for each of the operas, starting with *Angelina* and ending with *Ludwig*, decorated in turquoise, green, black and old gold with a gold edge. £17.10 in a presentation box from Harrods, Kendal Milne, Manchester, Grants, Croydon, Beales of Bournemouth and other fine china shops.

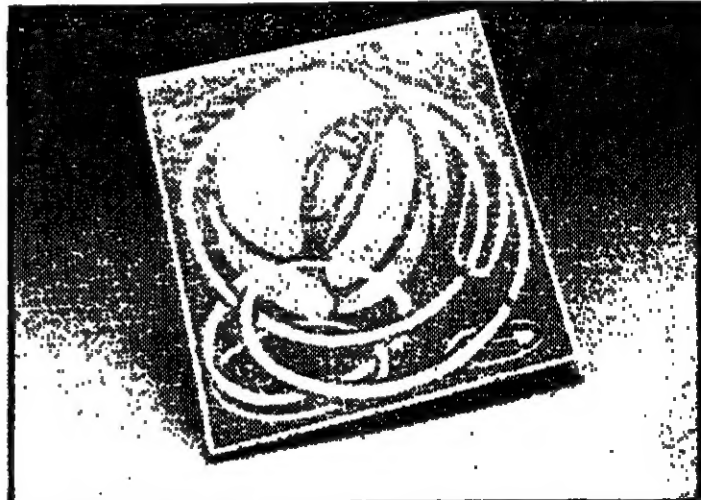
Nothing to do with Us—but everyone here desperately wants one of these PVC aprons, with a front page of *The Times*, dated 1850, approximately £2 from Selfridges, Heals, Harrods, John Lewis and selected gift shops.

Scotland has some wee, tartan horrors in the way of souvenirs, but this is a pink rose on a pale green background, a tile made from a fabric design of Charles Rennie Mackintosh, whose work deserves far more appreciation, 49p from the excellent Scottish Craft Centre, Canongate, Edinburgh, which is full of good things.

Liberty's centenary is celebrated in more ways than this mug (£1.85) in pale green with an exquisite *chinoiserie* design, and a visit to the six period rooms set in the basement of the shop in Regent Street might prove an addition to a London holiday. With it are three mugs celebrating 80 years of The National Trust (£1.50 each) and one of the most modest of their souvenirs, not illustrated, is a set of tiny book plates with a basket of trailing fruit and flowers in black and white, designed by John Sutcliffe, at 9p per book of 25 (postage 5p).

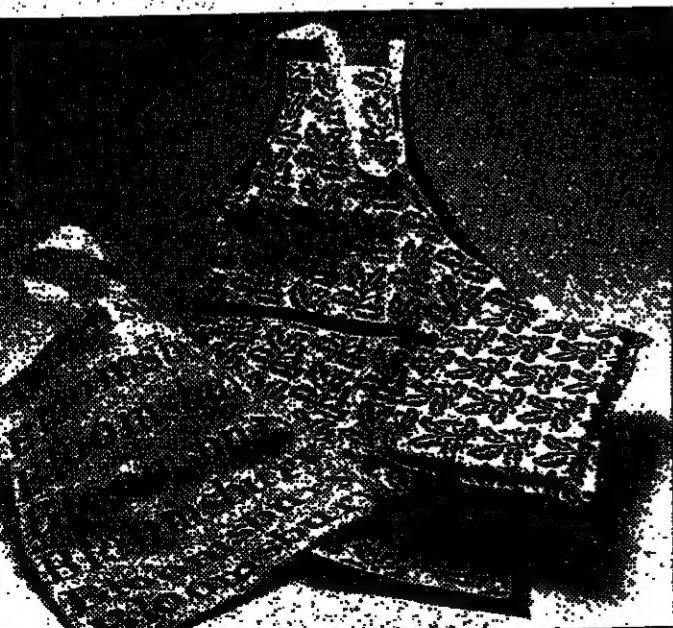


A Scottish work of art—a traditional Shetland Fair Isle sweater, handknitted in pure wool (size 36, £29.50) bordered scarf (£7.80) and matching hat (£2.90) designed by Margaret Stuart in brown, black and natural colours, from The Scottish Merchant, 16 New Row, London WC2. A small number of these beautiful things in stock, but orders happily accepted.



The National Trust articles are available by post from The National Trust, Western Way, Melksham, Wiltshire SN13 8DZ. No postage is quoted for the other articles, because it's more fun to buy them off the hoof, isn't it?

Severely practical, The National Trust's splendidly sturdy besan gardening apron and matching, waterproofed kneeler (£1.90 and £1.60, postage 16p and 14p). With them, a literary shopping bag at 55p, dark red on natural, from deep in the heart of Bloomsbury—Russell Meade, 9 Brunswick Shopping Centre, Brunswick Square, WC1.



### Problem THE PSYCHIATRIST AND THE PIANO

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An exact facsimile of a side plate from the Sèvres State dinner service presented to Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford by Louis XV in 1763, in dark blue and gold on white with sprays of flowers in their natural colours. As it's a tin plate, 30p from Woburn—an ideal souvenir, pretty, witty and useful.

Photographs by Trevor Sutton. Illustration by Norman Messenger.



Truly British—an umbrella from James Smith and Sons, 53 New Oxford Street, female £4.75, male £8.50. Giant matchbox (44p) and all British Mending Kit (just what we all need for sudden emergencies (21p) and little golden lions striding along with union jacks on a blue tea cloth (85p). All are widely available in souvenir shops.

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# Lord Longford reviews the extraordinary record of 'a happy man'

## The rare qualities that made Lord Thomson begin to build an empire at 60

After I was Sixty by Lord Thomson of Fleet (Hamish Hamilton, £3.95).

Lord Thomson may or may not have accumulated a larger fortune by his own exertions than anyone now alive in Britain. Since coming to Scotland from Canada 21 years ago at the age of 60 his performance in money-making must be unique. And not in that area alone. The book jacker informs us, with slight exaggeration, that when he came to Scotland "no one had ever heard of Roy Thomson". Today, he owns more newspapers than anyone else in the world. His absorbing book contains pictures of him with Khrushchev, Kossygin, Tito and Chou En-lai, always on terms of seeming parity. Not to mention various British Prime Ministers. On any reckoning it is an extraordinary record well worth analysis. Its architect examines it and his own personality along with it, illuminatingly in each case.

Happiness, perseverance, enterprise, and shrewdness are the qualities that stand out. All four preternaturally developed. "I happen", he concludes by saying, "to have been a happy man." Anyone who has seen him in a social gathering of any kind will have observed the more than Rorarian benevolence flowing out to all and sundry and may well have traced its source to his own enjoyment of life. Not that he is altogether lacking in discontent, divine or otherwise. He repeatedly makes it plain that as long as he is alive he will be seeking new worlds to conquer. Yet if he had not lost his beloved wife, failed to get into Parliament

and suffered the defection of a valued young colleague it seems unlikely that he would ever have come to Britain.

The three decisive events were the acquisitions of *The Scotsman*, *Scottish Television* (where no one else would touch it) and the Kemsley group of newspapers including *The Sunday Times*. *The Times* fell into his lap almost, it seems, inevitably though not without careful wooing.

If anyone doubts that strong perseverance was necessary at the critical moments he should turn to page 42, where Lord Thomson describes his attempts to obtain the support of leading Scotsmen for his television application. "Starting at the top, I began to write to all the dukes and lords and heads of clans; I presented my proposition to the barons and heads of Scottish businesses; I turned to the noble chairmen of insurance companies and banks; I came down the scale to privy counsellors and well-to-do shopkeepers; and I eventually even [sic] approached the Scottish Co-operative Society and the Labour Party."

He was overwhelmed with refusals for various reasons. "No one expressed a reluctance to go into partnership with Roy Thomson, the barber's son from Timmins. Though no doubt that was also a reason for rejection." He permits himself the mild satisfaction of writing: "It is ironic now to look at those refusals, to think of the money those men, some of them shrewd in business and in affairs, could have made." But, as he says elsewhere, he was never one to be much affected by snubs, which was just as



Press barons together: Lord Thomson shares a smile with his old friend the late Lord Beaverbrook.

well during his Scottish period. "As the refusals continued to go out," he writes, "I knew, he would have guessed that."

And the shrewdness? Today we take his phenomenal enterprise for granted. But the one major defeat recorded here brings out a surprisingly cautious element in his make-up. Of his failure to obtain control of Odhams when it seemed certain to come his way he has this to tell us: "Having no desire to enter into a battle for the Odhams shares at such a price I decided to take myself off the stage. I have never, in

all these years of acquiring businesses, entered into a takeover battle with another bidder. Now which of us would have guessed that?"

Apart from his domestic tragedy, the most painful event in recent years was "some of the personal criticism aimed at him while he was acquiring *The Belfast Telegraph*. The innuendoes were unpleasant and unjustified. He has never visited the city since. He might seem to have shown undue sensitivity. But he clearly attaches an almost sacred value not only to business success but to the code of conduct permissible in pur-

suing it. He must have a clear conscience or cease to operate. In a chapter of exceptional interest he asks himself: "What was it that gave me this self-confidence? This determination and adventurous spirit in business... at 67?" He concludes that experience was a very important element in the management side of business and it was, of course, the one thing that he had plenty of. The more one is exposed to the necessity of making decisions the better one's decision-making becomes. He is convinced that "through the years in my brain as in a computer I had stored

details of the problems themselves, the decisions reached and the results obtained. Everything was neatly filed away for future use."

No doubt the new problems were never quite the same as the old, but the analogies were near enough. He realizes that this makes it sound almost too easy, but he adds the hard saying: "If I had any advice to pass on as a successful man it is this: If one wants to be successful one must think; one must think until it hurts."

If one received that advice from an octogenarian in charge of a whole staff, or even a professor of business theory, one might discount it. Coming from Lord Thomson who has practised so powerfully what he preaches, it makes one think "till it hurts."

How much power he exerts or even tries to exert must remain a doubtful view of the extreme freedom accorded to those in charge of his multitudinous papers. He has repeatedly disclaimed any desire to put across his own ideas and has disarmed anxieties by doing so. Yet one cannot quite believe that his strong personal opinions are in no way reflected in the editorial appointments. His standards of business efficiency, if widely reproduced, would relieve us of many of our present ills. "Not all done with rose water," wrote Sir Winston Churchill about Prime Minister Asquith, so subtle and dignified yet never missing a trick in a political contest. *Maxima maxima*, the same might be said, of the undying Lord Thomson. But if so it would be fair to add the comment: "Not with ditch-water either." The final impression is of a friendly man.

When is a statutory incomes policy not a statutory incomes policy? When Mr Wilson and Mr Healey say so. The Government may write to establish that a policy is not statutory when it does not impose sanctions on the employees who break it, but only on the employers who are pressed to break it. But the fact remains that the currency of British parliamentary politics has again been debased — and this time more dangerously than ever.

Mr Wilson sought and obtained his return to Downing Street not merely by promising that he would never introduce a statutory incomes policy, but by actively conniving at the undermining of the statutory policy which wrecked Mr Heath's government. Since Mr Wilson regained office (power would be too complimentary a term) he has sworn over and over again that he would not bring in such a policy — and he was still swearing it until lately, even if he was also, subtly introducing the let-out that he would not do it short of war or "something like that".

Presumably "something like that" has now arrived in view of Mr Healey's threat that the Government will impose a policy of wage control by law if a new voluntary system along the lines he has laid down is not accepted within a week. The few Labour advocates of a statutory policy may smile in a superior sort of way at the triumph of reality over rhetoric which they had expected from the leader they so little admire. But they have really nothing to smile about. They should rather be plunged in gloom as they contemplate the damage being done to public confidence in the promises of politicians.

There was a time when a prime minister would have resigned rather than default on specific undertakings of this sort. Mr Wilson, I suppose, will not do so, since notions of political honour are at a discount these days and there are some politicians who seem no longer even to mind if they are not believed.

Yet I think that in some way that is beyond immediate prediction, the Labour Party will suffer for what it is doing. The danger is not simply of Cabinet splits and union resistance. There is also the possibility that the Labour Chief Whip will again have to go to the Cabinet to say that the party in Parliament will not accept what is being proposed, as happened when the party's majority party repudiated the proposed industrial relations legislation of Mr Wilson's last government.

In that case, the ball will be in Mrs Thatcher's court. Quite rightly the Conservatives have reserved their position until they know the nature of the package offered to Parliament at the end of this week to limbo. It is therefore important to be clear about the nature of the economic policies offered by the Conservative Opposition, which is the alternative government of the present Government (so far as these are knowable); do the Conservatives have a clear vision about what should be done, or is their clouded by divisions of opinion among themselves?

Until recently, the Conservatives could be charged with still lacking the internal unity necessary for resolute action. There was little attempt to disguise the gap between Sir Keith Joseph's brand of pure conservatism and the position of those who adhered, with more or less conviction, to the idea of retaining also the vestiges of the statutory policy concept in reserve.

However, the facts of the national crisis have developed a genuine consensus in the Shadow Cabinet, reducing the differences to little more than a matter of emphasis. In short, there is plainly a still substantial gap between this

Shadow Cabinet consensus and the dissident group of Heath Conservatives led by Mr Pe Waker, who stick to a justification of the old policy that would their last government and who Sir Keith see in some kind of statutory policy, or policy enforcement under threat of statute, a road to deflation without risk of unemployment. But now, outside the stream of Conservative thinking on the subject.

What matters is that senior members of the Shadow Cabinet who (partly in justification of the policies for which they once had to answer masters) were until recently in favour of a statutory policy structure of the model, have now shifted ground. For practical purposes there is now little more to be said for Sir Geoffrey Howe's recent cry: "We are all Tories now."

What then does the orthodox Conservative position amount to? On the one side, it means making a distinction of what is all in terms of wage increases, setting a limit for the public sector to make it impossible for wage claims beyond given limits to be accepted. On the other side, it means achieving by cutting the wages employed, if this does, they believe that the Government will not really be irrelevant.

The Conservatives will necessarily vote against the Government's package because it contains a limit. Nor will they faulting on their words. Wilson has done by saying they would never ever be to such a policy. They are from experience the nation's most reliable source of information, to have recourse short-term or permanent increases to secure a more permanent solution. It are now pretty confident they could resist the temptation to do so. They are blind themselves against foreseeing contingencies.

But as the Shadow sees it, what matters couple cash limit rather than the public a which Mr Healey may with wider restraints on spending which they will not do. As well as that, the money supply will be cut, and the Government's nationalization program out the specific subsidies and reduce all subsidies indiscriminate kind, with food, housing, transport, industry. They would ward as many as possible the cuts which Mr Healey has proposed for 1976/77 which the Government will never implement. It is embarrassed by unemployment, and a that the reduced money supply shows superficial signs of inflation under sort of temporary alleviation.

The Conservatives are much more sophisticated in their approach to the national crisis. They are not simply a local government as to set clear cash limit growth of local budgets, and it also propose a fundamental cash public sector budgets.

As Mr David Howells recently, the Conservatives believe that the best cutting into the public sector will be a reduction of public expenditure. In other words, by dealing with the public sector in terms of public expenditure, the Conservatives are not simply a local government as to set clear cash limit growth of local budgets, and it also propose a fundamental cash public sector budgets.

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### Bernard Levin

## Will British psychiatrists take action against the torturers of the Soviet Union?

Daily and hourly my physical body and my personality are being killed. The dog outside the fence gets better food, with more calories, than I do. It is not fed rotten cabbage and stinking fish. My head is shaved, I am always hungry, and I freeze on the cement floor of the punishment cells. At any moment I may be stripped naked. I am a slave. Any sadist has the authority and right to force me to do any humiliating labour.

Those words were written by Dr Semyon Gluzman, the young Soviet psychiatrist sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in a concentration camp for disseminating an exposure of the fraudulent psychiatric diagnosis used to incarcerate the dissident General Grigorenko; Dr Gluzman's message was smuggled out of his camp a few months ago, and has since reached the West. It is another testimony to the increasing reversion on the part of the Soviet authorities to the use of torture and brutality on a Stalinist and Nazi pattern in their attempt to destroy the dissident movement altogether. And I publish it now not because it tells us anything that we did not already know in general, but for a particular and practical purpose. In her valuable article on this page last week, Valerie Kaye gave an account of the background to the use of bogus psychiatric diagnosis and "treatment" used by the Soviet authorities against dissidents whom it would be embarrassing simply to imprison or murder. She ended by saying: "Now is the time for psychiatrists outside the Soviet Union to raise their voices in protest, if they are truly to call themselves doctors."

Now the Royal College of Psychiatrists is due to meet next week, and various aspects of the Soviet abuse of their profession are to be raised. I understand that the British psychiatrists who are determined to get their colleagues to make a stand are proposing action at the meeting in October: next week, however, should make clear whether when it comes to

the point British psychiatrists as a body are going yet again to allow those who peddle the doctored-offend-the-Russians line to block or divert the pressure for action. The international symposium which met in Geneva in April defined the psychiatrist's duty to his patient in terms which left no doubt that it is being systematically betrayed in the Soviet Union: the participants also moved to set up an organization which would take up cases of such betrayal, and apply the sanction of boycott against countries, and individual doctors, who permit, institute or practise it. It is hoped that at their October meeting British psychiatrists will be obliged to decide, one way or the other, on participation in such a movement; it remains to be seen, next week, which way they are likely to decide. And if they refuse action, then, in Miss Kaye's words, they will have shown that they have forfeited the right "truly to call themselves doctors."

For if they will now ask themselves whether in fraternal harmony with those debased physicians who practised pseudo-medical abominations on the victims in Hitler's concentration camps, and if, as we may surely assume, the answer is that they would not, then they must ask themselves why, in that case, they are willing to shake the hands of such "doctors" as Szezhnevsky, Vartanian and the sadist Danil Lunts. Members of the Royal College have got to face the truth, which is that any Soviet psychiatrist who misuses his professional skill for the political purposes of the State has by doing so placed himself outside the pale of professional acceptability elsewhere. They have a duty to support those who suffer against those who, from whatever motives, prostitute their calling in the service of those who cause the suffering. We all have such a duty; but the Royal College of Psychiatrists has an extra duty, and a greater opportunity.

The extra duty is too obvious to need discussion: the extra opportunity is less so. There has never been any doubt, and Victor Fainberg has emphasized this in the testimony he brought with him when he got out, that by far the most effective form of pressure it is possible to bring to bear on the Soviet authorities is that which comes from professional and other international bodies with whom they

Any Soviet psychiatrist who misuses his professional skill for the political purposes of the State has placed himself beyond the pale of professional acceptability

wish to retain contacts. There was an immediate and substantial intensification of Soviet ill-treatment of dissidents incarcerated in psychiatric "hospitals" after the notorious Mexico City meeting of the World Psychiatric Association where its general secretary, Dr Denis Leigh, had helped to block any attempt to condemn the Soviet abuse of psychiatry. With the threat of professional condemnation, and the consequent possibility of exclusion of Soviet psychiatrists from international association, lifted, the Soviet authorities felt free to give the screw another turn, and this has been a constant pattern: when the tide of international protest, especially from specialist organizations, is flowing strongly, the oppressors retreat; when the tide recedes, they advance. (Even more significant, perhaps, was the fact that immediately before the Mexico fiasco, the

torture of the incarcerated dissidents was eased, and stories were put about by the Soviet authorities to the effect that they would soon be released, so anxious were they to avoid international condemnation.)

The Royal College of Psychiatrists, and its president, Sir Martin Roth (who hands over to his successor next week), has in the past been, in this matter, far too weak and dilatory, but when Sir Martin did send a telegram, along with four other distinguished doctors, protesting against the abominable torment being visited upon the seriously ill Vladimir Bukovsky (the bravest of the brave, whose offence had been to help to alert the outside world to the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union), Bukovsky was immediately allowed a period of special diet and respite from slave labour. (Sir Martin retired from the presidency of the Royal College during next week's meeting: relieved of the cares and pressures of office he will perhaps be more active in this field in the future. He is succeeded by Dr Linford Rees, a choice which on the face of it bodes ill, for Dr Rees has not only been closely associated with Dr Leigh, but actually made the appalling and inexplicable blunder of accepting, along with Dr Leigh, honorary membership of the Soviet Psychiatric Association, and went along to the Soviet Embassy in London to be invested while his Soviet counterparts were daily defiling their, and his, calling. But since he must now realize what an error of judgment he has made, it may be that he will now be anxious to use his new and influential position to help the Soviet victims.)

Now, however, matters have gone beyond the stage at which western psychiatrists can quieten their consciences by making gestures. British psychiatrists as a body have got to realize that, if they are to retain any collective honour, they must give up entirely an increasingly disgraceful association with a body that has shown itself to have nothing in common with its western counterparts, but the name of psychiatrist. It is no use their passing resolutions condemning Soviet abuse of psychiatry even in the most archaic terms, if they are not prepared to act on their implications — if, that is, they are not prepared to break off all contact with Soviet psychiatrists until this wickedness is ended.

Some of them may think I go too far with words like wickedness. I must therefore end today by thrusting the reality behind the words into their faces. The distinguished mathematician Leonid Plyuschik was sentenced to an indefinite term when he was diagnosed insane for signing an appeal to the UN for human rights in his country, and for being in possession of socialist literature. He is held in a "hospital" in Dnepropetrovsk, where the commandant is a man called Pruss; the spurious diagnostic commission which recommended that Plyuschik be thus detained was chaired by Szezhnevsky. Leonid Plyuschik, who is perfectly sane, is being, quite literally, tortured to death. Day after day he is injected with large doses of depressant drugs which are destroying him. His wife, after being permitted a visit to him recently, wrote this, in an appeal to the outside world:

The Leonid Plyuschik known to me, to his children, relatives and friends, this is not the man who is now in the "hospital". He is an exhausted man, driven to the last brink of suffering, losing his memory and his ability to read, write and think. He is literally, tortured to death. Day after day he is injected with large doses of depressant drugs which are destroying him. His wife, after being permitted a visit to him recently, wrote this, in an appeal to the outside world:

That is what Soviet psychiatry lends itself to, and the Royal College of Psychiatrists is to be invited to take a stand — and a potentially effective stand — against such evil. I do not see how it can now refuse to do so.

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### North Sea oil

In his article yesterday on North Sea oil, John Maddox intended to say: "Fourteen nuclear power stations, a feasible three to five year building programme, would yield in their lifetime electricity equivalent to 10 per cent of the oil in the North Sea."

Today's sign, with its pleasing medical overtones, was photographed at Searlow Falls, Bettsfield, by Dr C. Howard of Birkenhead.

readily understood? There is no shortage of theories.

The Oxford Companion To Sports and Games believes that early scoring was kept by moving the hands of a clock to the quarter, half, three-quarters, but is unsatisfactory on why what should therefore be 45-love has become 40. "Love" it claims, is from the French *l'oeuf*, meaning egg all over your racket. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is of a broadly similar opinion. The scoring, it thinks, is from the days when 60 was preferred to 100 as a convenient round number. It subtly dismisses 40-love as a handy simplification of 45-love.

As for "deuce", it is quite clearly from the French *deux* or *deux* encore, meaning either two points needed to win, or the players are equal. But an alleged scoring theory of deuce by Dr R. Houwink in a recent book called *Sixty Six Science*. He thinks it derives from the cannons employed on English ships involved in the Battle of Harfleur in 1415, in which victory over the French was achieved by the use of 15-pounders, 20-pounders and 40-pounders. The English sailors that very night are said to have celebrated their victory with a game using the same terminology.

Blow-out

Tuesday was a bad day for how I celebrated the anniversary of the day at a luncheon with industrialists who ought to have been at their desks helping save the country. Then in the evening I drove to Sealedown Park near Croydon for a grueling 10-course dinner to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the birth of Seldon May — the personification of the militant and short-lived Conservative philosophy born at a conference in 1970.

We sat down at 8.15 and at 10.30, after the first five

## The Times Diary

### Writing US history by the pound

I have no idea what to put it down to, but books are getting longer and longer. William Manchester's *The Glory and The Dream*, to be published here next week, is a history of the United States from 1932 to 1972. It has 1,397 pages and weighs 4.1lb.

The precise figure for its weight comes from Manchester himself, who seems as interested in the mechanical statistics of his books as he is in their content. In the United States, about 75,000 copies of the work were sold, at \$20. (The British price is even higher at £10.) "It was," said Manchester, "the most expensive book ever to have made the best-seller list."

An American paperback edition is soon to be published, almost the same size as the hardback, but weighing only 2lb. For Christmas, 1976, it will be published in four separate paperbacks in a gift box. And it is to be made into a television series, a kind of Manchester's People.

The book is long, he explained, because he employs a narrative style. "Telling it as a story, you need more room to tell it. You have to tell the characters. Kubod's criticism of War and Peace because it's a very long book."

He chose 1932 as a starting date because it was a watershed year, with the election of Franklin Roosevelt as President and the very lowest point of the Depression. "I suppose you can rationalize any division you make," he said. "But the period did start and end with an economic crisis. And the Depression and Vietnam (the book finishes at the time of the end of the American involvement in Vietnam) were both spiritual crises."

Manchester, who is 33, talks in much the same heroic style as he writes — the style which might be expected from man who writes titles for sections of his book like "Rendezvous with Destiny" and "Reaping the Whirlwind". Discussing his belief that the nation states of

Europe have more of a national identity than the United States, he told me: "National identity descends from ancestral loins."

Outsize projects run in his family. In 1912 he said, one of his ancestors walked across Russia. It took Manchester six years to write his gargantuan book and "when I finished I felt like the mother of quintuplets — happy but holed."

What next? He will not say, but "it won't be as long as *The Glory and The Dream* — nothing else will." Nor will it be something he was asked to write the memoirs of H. J. Waldman, the Watergate conspirator. "I told them (a) I don't do that sort of thing and (b) if I did do it, he was the one, and last person I'd do it for."

### Art news

The new American ambassador, Elliott Richardson, does not flaunt his appreciation of art in quite the way that his predecessor, Walter Annenberg, did. Yesterday, though, he was obliged to take a tour of a selection of paintings from the Pennsylvania Academy, mounted in what is usually his embassy's reference library. He took care not to appear unappreciative.

Richardson looks even smoother and cleaner than the other Americans on the embassy staff. He judges his art with his cuffs well-shined, and a firm jawline thrust toward the canvas. He leaves most of the enthusiasm to his tall and white-haired wife. She suggested that a husband of bare trees entitled *February* would remind him of something (possibly February) and he studied it closely and agreed that it did. Mrs Richardson also liked a mix of woodland scene by George Inness. "That really is a beauty," said Richardson, but he did not seem convinced. Art Buchwald, the humorous columnist, was also at the viewing. "Isn't that fine?" mumbled Richardson, indicating a portrait of Walt Whitman in which the artist's name in block capitals featured largely in the right-hand corner. "I might like it if he could write his name better," joked Buchwald.

### Out of time

The producers of historical series on BBC and ITV are letting anachronisms slip through. The television critic of *The Observer* noticed some too modern use of language in an episode of ITV's *Edward the Seventh* last week and one of

my readers spotted two even more glaring: the King telling his advisers that "we shall have to play this by ear" and saying that grandchildren far from being a nuisance, were "fine".

Another reader heard a reference in *Bogner Regis* in the BBC's *The Poisoning of Charles Bravo*. The play was set in 1878 and *Bogner* did not become *Regis* until George V controversialised there between the wars. You cannot get away with that kind of thing amongst readers of *The Times*.

Most authorities agree that the name of the game comes from the French *Tenez*, meaning: "Watch out. I am about to serve you a powerful volley where you least expect it."

What is really in dispute is the origin of the seemingly illogical scoring system. Why 15-love, 30-love and 40-love and deuce, when one-two-three-four would have been much more

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## WHO WILL GOVERN BRITAIN NOW?

It is easier to be tolerant of U turns, even repeated U turns, when they seem to be a move in the right direction. Mr Wilson, who has been twice Leader of the Opposition and twice Prime Minister, has now completed his second U turn, and both for the second time. As Leader of the Opposition in 1964 he was against British membership of the EEC and against incomes policy. As Prime Minister between 1964 and 1970 he came to be in favour of both. Again in opposition after 1970 he opposed Europe, voting against British membership, and repudiated incomes policy; again as Prime Minister he has come round on both issues. Two double U turns is probably a record for a British Prime Minister.

Surely this is powerful evidence that it is not possible to govern Britain without the ability to resort to an effective incomes policy, or indeed without membership of the European Community. Mr Wilson cannot have wanted to move to a compulsory incomes policy, either in 1966 or now in 1975. That he has done so must be because he felt himself forced to do so. The alternative would have been massive further inflation, massive unemployment or both, and certainly a complete loss of confidence in the pound.

In both cases Mr Wilson has been in a more realistic way, and therefore more in the national interest, as Prime Minister than he did in opposition. The criticism which we made at the time is of his exploitation, in opposition of the necessities of government. Yet, if only one of fairness to Mr Heath, it must be observed now that the Labour Government have found that they had no option but to start again down the road which led his Government to February 1974. Where is it going to lead them? And when?

It will be some time before the national reaction to Mr Heath's policy can be judged accurately. If only because it is a developing reaction and not one which will

fully emerge immediately. Yet it is already clear that there is a large measure of general public support—for the public are sick of uncontrolled inflation—but determined opposition in some trade unions, perhaps more serious trade union opposition than at the same stage of previous phases of incomes policy.

Mr Scamilton, Mr Scargill and Mr Clive Jenkins have already made it clear that they do not intend to accept Mr Heath's 10 per cent limit, or any compulsory policy that he may try to impose. Mr Jack Jones's position is more equivocal; he is opposed to a compulsory policy, and believes he has had an assurance there will be no statutory policy, whatever statutory may mean. He is much more in sympathy with the idea of a limit on wage increases, which he has indeed himself been advocating. Mr Jack Jones does want the Labour Government to remain in power.

In TUC terms it is possible therefore that there will be a majority, if perhaps a narrow majority, for a deal with the Government; Mr Jones has the most votes, though not enough to carry the day on his own. Yet that leaves three questions. Can Mr Jones get the form of policy he wants, a policy of flat rate increases which will narrow differentials in favour of lower paid workers? Can Mr Jones hold the position in his own union, or will the pressures there begin to build up against a compulsory policy? If the TUC does produce a majority for restriction, will the dissenting unions, and particularly the miners, respect it?

The answers to these questions will reinforce the other reactions inside the Labour Party. The worst possibility is that the trade unions will reject the Heath proposals, with or without new statutory backing, that the left wing of the Labour Party and the Labour Party Conference will also reject them—as the Tribune Group has already

done—and that the Government will be in almost the same minority inside the Labour movement on incomes as they were on Europe. It will be remembered that on Europe the TUC, the Labour Party Conference, the Labour Party National Executive and even the Parliamentary Labour Party showed an anti-government majority.

The best possibility is that the Heath policy will be opposed only by a left wing minority in the trade unions and the parliamentary party, though even then one would expect the left to have a majority on the National Executive and possibly in the Labour Party Conference. In that case the Government would be able to carry these policies, with some Liberal and perhaps some Conservative support, at least until a major dissident union, perhaps again the miners, challenged them in direct conflict.

In either case the political issues—who controls the Labour Party? and who governs the country?—will again have to be faced. They may have to be faced very soon, if there is a generally hostile trade union reaction, or they may be postponed for some months yet. They will certainly be watched closely by the foreign holders of sterling.

Those trade union leaders who have throughout opposed any wage restraint, the communists and the far left, have shown that they have an overriding political motive. They want to prove that Britain can only be run with their consent; they use the monopoly power of their unions and the consequent wage inflation to undermine the liberal democracy to which they are in principle opposed. Their wage strikes are in fact political strikes. Britain is now near the testing point to see whether their power or the power of Parliament will prevail. But first it is in the Labour Party that people are going to have to decide whether they are Socialists and Democrats, or Socialists first and Democrats not at all.

## THE TYRANNY OF AN ACADEMIC MOB

The troubles at the Polytechnic of North London have rumbled on for so long, in fact, since before the new polytechnic was established in 1971, that it has become dangerously easy to underestimate the true gravity of the situation there. The sense of outrage felt when the first meeting of the court of governors was disrupted can only be sustained at the same level of intensity with difficulty when the court has been disrupted for the sixth time. The simple repetition of such behaviour in the end can numb the will and the capacity to protest against it.

The forthright letter from Lord Annan, Provost of University College, London, on this page is a necessary and timely reminder to any who have succumbed to such weariness. This is a serious warning, from a distinguished academic who has no personal interest in the dispute, that this polytechnic could become the first major institution of higher education in which academic standards are subverted successfully by political pressures on the pattern of certain German universities. Other recent events, such as the occupation of the Senate House at Cambridge and the forced cancellation of a degree ceremony at Middlesex Polytechnic, have added force and topicality to Lord Annan's arguments.

Sadly the conflict at the polytechnic has often been inter-

preted as a personal struggle between the director, Mr Terence Miller, and the insurgent students and dissident members of staff who oppose him. This interpretation has encouraged an unfortunate concentration on the details of the conflict rather than the principles which underlie it. The Inner London Education Authority, which is ultimately responsible for the destiny of the polytechnic, appears to share this myopic vision of the troubles at North London as a little local difficulty devoid of wider significance.

Both members and officers of ILEA seem to believe that the departure of Mr Miller would lead to a restoration of calm at the polytechnic. Perhaps they are right, but it would be the calm that follows an abdication of responsibility not the calm of genuine agreement and reconciliation. Perhaps Mr Miller on occasions has acted precipitately. However any of his misjudgments in face of deliberate hostility are nothing compared to the conduct of those of his opponents who have not shrunk from the para-violence of direct action in their determined struggle to depose him. The case that is made by his critics against Mr Miller reminds one of the Wimbledon truth that under really aggressive pressure it is hard to continue to make perfectly relaxed responses.

Much more is at stake than the outcome of the struggle between Mr Miller and his enemies, or even than the future academic reputation of the Polytechnic of North London, although for an institution that has made a distinguished contribution to higher education in London for more than 60 years that is serious enough. Two general principles are involved. The first is the ability of local education authorities to continue to play, through the polytechnics, a significant part in the administration of higher education.

It is widely accepted that this is desirable in theory, but the failure of ILEA, the largest and perhaps best equipped education authority, to act decisively to sustain the academic reputation of such a major institution, must raise doubts about its practical application. The second is the character of authority within a university or polytechnic. Whatever view is taken of the grievances of Mr Miller's opponents, their methods have been entirely illegitimate: whatever view is taken of the director's responses, his intentions have been entirely honourable. If he loses his job, the maintenance of legitimate authority and democracy within academic institutions will become more difficult. The tyranny of rule by mass assembly, to borrow Lord Annan's phrase, will have come closer.

## Democracy in India

From Lord Brockway  
Sir, I was born in India. I had the privilege of the friendship of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. I have had that friendship with India's Gandhi, I admired the integrity of Jyotirao Phule. It is 68 years since I first pleaded for India's independence. I had hoped that she would set the example in Asia of advancing to human equality and social justice through democracy. I have never been saddened more than by what is now happening. I appeal to Mrs Gandhi and to the many in India who, I know, cherish liberty to save the country we love from the deformation which now threatens. We must give you all the cooperation that is possible to build the India of our hopes.

Sincerely,  
FENNER BROCKWAY,  
House of Lords,  
July 1.

## Ineffective Opposition

From Sir William McEwan Younger  
Sir, In the period following the election of Mr Edward Heath as leader of the Conservative Party, he clearly did not receive the full-hearted support of several of his principal colleagues, whom many believed to be more concerned with their own personal ambition than with providing an effective opposition to the then Socialist Government.

Today, in a crisis of infinitely greater seriousness, a similar situation appears to exist. Mrs Thatcher is the elected leader of the party. Her position as such has been reinforced by the reception she has received throughout the country, and by the result of the Woolwich by-election. Yet it is widely believed

that Mr Heath himself and more certainly some of his principal supporters are not, either by their votes or speeches in the House of Commons, or by contributions in and on the media, pulling anything like the full weight in opposition to the Labour Government. What I do know is that, if they are pulling their full weight in practical opposition and effective criticism, they are most certainly not being seen to do so.

I cannot assess to what extent the opinion is justified, nor yet where the blame for such a situation would largely lie. What I do know is that, if they are pulling their full weight in practical opposition and effective criticism, they are most certainly not being seen to do so.

Yours faithfully,  
WILLIAM MCEWAN YOUNGER,  
29 Moray Place,  
Edinburgh,  
June 30.

## Arabs and Jerusalem

From Dr Jamal Nasir  
Sir, Mr Eric Marsden reported a most serious and far-reaching point of view in his article June 25. A child wind blowing over the new Jerusalem.

Public opinion in the world understands that peace in the Middle East can never be even contemplated as long as Israel continues to occupy Arab Jerusalem by force of arms and in violation of repeated United Nations decisions and international law. It is said that Mr Kollek cannot contemplate any surrender of sovereignty or redhibition of the city. If anything, such irresponsible statements prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Israel has no intention to see a peaceful settlement in the area.

Without Arab Jerusalem returning to the Arabs it is a complete waste of time even to talk of peace.

The Arabs wherever they may be will never lift their heads as long as Arab Jerusalem remains under Israeli occupation and domination. The Arabs' name, heritage, future and status in the world depend on their declared policy as reported by their leaders to liberate Arab Jerusalem irrespective of the consequences; and this is prerequisite to any peace in the area.

Yours faithfully,  
JAMAL NASIR, former Minister of Justice of Jordan,  
2 Stone Buildings,  
Lincoln's Inn, WC2.

## The Oxford Group

From Mr Patrick Wolrige-Gordon  
Sir, Having endured some obloquy on behalf of the Oxford Group and Moral Re-Armament in my time, though nothing to compare with the paralyzing patronage of Mr Kenneth Rose for James, fourth Marquess of Salisbury, might I comment on the full page extract from Mr Rose's book *The Later Cecils*, which you published on June 21.

First, why does such a tendentious account of one episode in a full and honorable life merit such extensive and one-sided treatment in *The Times*? Secondly, it is true that Dr Buchman's policy towards Germany in the thirties failed—he did not succeed in his aim to replace the swastika with the Cross of Christ—but was it not a better effort and more realistic than the prevailing wisdom of the time, as exemplified by the nation's reluctance to re-arm or the appeasement policy of *The Times*.

Yours sincerely,  
PATRICK WOLRIGE-GORDON,  
Vian Lodge,  
Newburgh,  
Aberdeenshire,  
June 23.

## Crossman Diaries as evidence

From Mr A. R. Isserlis  
Sir, The letter from Sir John Calville about the Crossman Diaries (July 1) is greatly to be welcomed. The doctrine of *de mortuis* cannot reasonably be claimed on behalf of someone who knowingly conspired before his death to betray the confidences of his colleagues and the confidences of those who had trusted him.

Too much of the running in this affair has hitherto been made by live journalists defending a dead one under the protection of that doctrine and in the name of the public interest. But there are other public interests besides theirs. And indeed there are other considerations in this case in addition to the basic ones of principle.

First, it has to be noted that what has been published from these Diaries confirms what those who had anything to do with Mr Crossman will hardly need telling: that interesting, stimulating and even charming as he could be at times (especially to undergraduates), his accuracy and good faith of perception and of record leave much to be desired—often escaping specific challenge only because those in a position to challenge have rightly been unwilling to follow his example by indulging in public discussion of business carried on in confidence.

Second, pundits though he set himself up to be on political institutions and political practices, his actual observations as so far published, like his actual performance when in public office, reveal a very considerable degree of ignorance, naivete, and absorption in the trivial and the self-regarding.

Third, these shortcomings may not make his Diaries less readable or less useful as curiosities for posterity (there are literary and historical niches somewhere for all men, be they Poppo or Beowulf, Harro or Channon); but they must cast some doubt on the claim that only by early access to this level of material can the student of government fully learn what government is about.

Fourth, it is in any case a vulgar error to believe that in practice the censorious and dismissive information for *bona fide* citizen understanding or political studies of the recent past without reliance on a willingness by politicians or officials to indulge for pride or for profit in questionable behaviour; the fuss that has been made on these and other grounds about the Official Secrets Act is largely mischievous or irrelevant.

Fifth, one can subscribe to the view that governments could usefully release much more than they yet do about policy facts and policy options for public discussion before positions and decisions are reached, without necessarily accepting in the least that what an accountable government or Minister or official on its behalf has wisely or unwisely not decided to publish should nevertheless be bandied about merely because those who write for the newspapers or for the book-sellers think they know better.

Sixth, the whole general clamour against the government's disclosure of its Diaries is in fact a disguised attempt to keep the Diaries out of the hands of those who would have opposed such a move, the student union paper published a telegram purporting to come from the President of the NUS: "Congratulations on deposing Roberts. Now for Miller."

What is the purpose of this committee which is to circumscribe Mr Miller's actions? The terms of reference begin by an illusion to improper conduct by Mr Miller concerning certain business studies courses. To the outsider this is mean-

## Ali-Bugner fight coverage

From Mr Cliff Morgan  
Sir, Michael Leppman (*The Times* Diary, July 1), professed to have been unable to hear Desmond Lynam reporting for BBC Radio from Kuala Lumpur over the weekend other than on the World Service. It is a pity he did not turn to the obvious place for sports reporting, namely the sports programmes.

On Saturday Sport on Two on Radio Lynam, the second a feature lasting nearly 10 minutes, including interviews with both fighters and managers. On Sunday, *Sunday Sport* on Radio 1 carried a further six-minute report from Lynam. During his assignment in Kuala Lumpur, Lynam was filing the equivalent of getting on for 1,000 words a day, which I would have thought was a respectable striking rate even by the industrious standards of Fleet Street.

Yours faithfully,  
CLIFF MORGAN,  
Head of Outside Broadcasts, Radio,  
Broadcasting House, W1.

## The Bard's ghost writer

From Sir Bernard Miles  
Sir, The *Merry Wives of Windsor* received a rather rough handling from the press for which we do not complain, especially as our friends the critics have over the past 16 years laddled out praise in such abundance, often far more than we have deserved.

But it is to say the least disquieting that in a single one of the great dailies noted the four spurious scenes introduced into the play in order to explain the otherwise inexplicable reference to the Duke of Germany and the stealing of the host's horses (Act IV, Scenes 3 and 5) which has so long vexed the commentators, especially as two of the scenes in question drew solid rounds of applause from the First Night audience.

The additions were easily spotted by a small party of 15-year-olds studying for their GCE. Yours faithfully,  
BERNARD MILES,  
Mermaid Theatre,  
Blackfriars, EC4.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Troubles of N London Polytechnic

From Lord Annan  
Sir, Whatever may be one's views of the Senate House affair at Cambridge, no one supposes that council now exercises negligible authority, that a substantial number of dons would depose the vice-chancellor, or that in certain subjects a Cambridge degree has become worthless through tolerated malpractices. But in the Polytechnic of North London the equivalent is practically the case.

To most people who know little of the history of the new PNL, the announcement that the Court of Governors has set up a committee to propose measures to ensure that Mr Miller, the Director, should not change the decision of the Academic Board or Court, may suggest that Mr Miller is an overbearing tyrant riding rough shod over the constitutional authority of the governors and his academic colleagues. The very reverse is true. Mr Miller has been subjected to brutal and brazen treatment by militant students and their supporters among the academic staff (some of whom openly champion disruption). He has been physically assaulted and his attempts to reestablish academic standards have been derided and flouted. Worse still some governors have supported these students.

Affairs at the polytechnic are a public scandal. Six times between 1971-74, meetings of the Court of Governors have been disrupted, the ending in pandemonium. As the court does not meet all that often, this is something of a record. The Academic Board has been disrupted five times. In the course of 18 disruptions, two occupations, the breaking open of files, the stealing of documents and the constant shelling of members of staff, not one student has ever been expelled or disciplined, nor the staff who supported the disruption ever brought to task. Although the students' union's income totals £68,000, no accounts were published until 1974 and they were then meagre and uninformative.

These are facts. The inferences which it has been put to me flow from those facts are alarming. The process of intimidation by the militants—the union has for long been in the hands of the international Socialists and their adherents—has alienated the mass of students from it. Many members of staff have been terrorized into adopting a neutral role. One member of staff, who wrote to *The Times* was begged by another to desist: "We want peace here not principles." Since the governors are habitually abused and humiliated, some absent themselves, one has recently resigned, and others have now adopted a policy of inactivity and abstention and vote with those who are determined to sack Mr Miller. That, of course, has always been the aim of his most malignant opponents.

Mr Roberts, the respected editor of *The Sunday Telegraph*, was Chairman of the Court of Governors until 1974. When he was ousted from the chairmanship in a squalid manoeuvre which coincided with the absence from the court of those who would have opposed such a move, the student union paper published a telegram purporting to come from the President of the NUS: "Congratulations on deposing Roberts. Now for Miller."

What is the purpose of this committee which is to circumscribe Mr Miller's actions? The terms of reference begin by an illusion to improper conduct by Mr Miller concerning certain business studies courses. To the outsider this is mean-

ingless unless he realizes that an enquiry into that department had to be set up and found that there had been "serious irregularities", e.g. the raising of marks and disregard of normal rules which in a university would have rendered those concerned liable to dismissal.

When it appeared as if Mr Miller's proposal to deal with this matter would be accepted, students broke up the meeting of the governors. It is for drawing the attention of the DES to the irregularities that Mr Miller is now convicted of exceeding his authority. Singular irony.

One of the complaints against Mr Miller raised in the discussion by the governors was that he had written articles, in newspapers such as *The Times Higher Education Supplement* and had made controversial speeches condemning militant students and academic staff who supported disruption. If the committee ruled that the director of a polytechnic was only to make a speech, to write letters, or to publish articles which had been previously approved by his board of governors, a grave issue of academic freedom will be at stake.

The director of a polytechnic awarding CNA degrees is not the hired lack of his local authority. Quite rightly academic staff in higher education are permitted to criticize publicly the institutions to which they belong. A vice-chancellor of a university or a director of a polytechnic, as the leading member of the academic staff, has just such a freedom, and it is in the public interest that Mr Miller should still be free to draw the public's attention to the state of affairs in his institution. It is the duty of the polytechnic's directors to this issue.

Mr Miller's supporters, and his opponents on the committee, and they appear to be in the majority—will devise a simple tactic. Realizing that the director cannot be dismissed out of hand, they will shackle him so severely that he will be unable to function as director according to any normal interpretation of the duties of that office. Then, if in his attempts to function he breaks a link in his chains, they will be able after warnings legally to dismiss him.

Admirable work is done at the PNL. By this year 27 courses were validated for CNA degrees. There are plenty of devoted teachers and excellent students wishing only to learn. But unless its governance is overhauled, PNL may become the first British institute of higher education to be politicized as some German universities have been.

I hardly know Mr Miller. Nor can I say whether he has the fortune to be in his place. I would have acted as he did. But it is largely due to Mr Miller, and not to his opponents, that major improvements have been made in the running of the polytechnic, that faculties have been set up, appointments committees made academically respectable and the tyranny of rule by mass assembly in some areas have been averted.

I sympathize with those lay governors who have supported him being unwilling any longer to endure the continuous abuse and humiliations to which they are subjected. They should submit to such treatment voluntarily submit to such treatment? But those who believe that peace can be bought if Mr Miller is somehow expelled will find that the price in the end which they pay for it will be the destruction of the polytechnic as a respectable academic institution.

NOEL ANNAN,  
House of Lords,  
July 1.

### Constitution of Equity

From Mr Joss Ackland and others  
Sir, We wish, through the courtesy of your column, had I the members of British Actors Equity to review very carefully the proposals for a restructuring of its constitution which are to be debated on July 6. Several of these proposals were rejected in principle by a referendum of the membership last January and the proposals do not make sense with the need for such referenda in the future, so as to leave the decision making to a vote at attended meetings.

Actors are not politicians. We require a union which serves our needs and particularly protects the interests of the younger and less successful members of our calling. Equity up to now has fulfilled that purpose. We hope that all members will therefore weigh most carefully the type of constitution that we need, and whether changes of a political nature square with our current requirements; and whether we are thoroughly cognizant of the motivation of those who seek to bring about changes for which no need has existed to date.

A recent High Court judgment in respect of the impugned use of a casting vote demonstrates the dangers that can arise if well-ordered and well-investigated practices are not maintained. We would ask our fellow members of Equity to give the most serious thought to the avoidance of dangers of this kind.

Yours, &c.  
Joss Ackland, Eileen Atkins, Christopher Cazenove, Nigel Davenport, Ron Moody, Michael Jayston, Kenneth More, Anthony Quayle, Dandy Nichols, Diana Rigg, Angharad Rees, Maggie Smith, James Villiers, July 1.

### Law on censorship

From Mr John Trevelyan  
Sir, Mrs Enid Wistrich (July 1) is right. The laws that relate to the censorship of films appear to be in a state of confusion, and the Home Office should certainly do something about it.

As things are now the people who provide this popular form of entertainment—producers, distributors and exhibitors—cannot know whether or not the films that are shown to the public will land them in the courts, and the people who are responsible for film censorship cannot help them since they will not know, either. This is both absurd and unjust.

Parliament has more important

## British exports to Europe

From Sir Frederick Catherwood and Sir Derek Ezra  
Sir, For the past twelve years British companies have argued that the needed the same secure tariff-free access to the large and buoyant European market as has been enjoyed by the original members of the EEC, containing that give similar conditions British industry as good as its competitors—or better. The outcome of the referendum last affords the necessary assurance and it is up to us to prove the argument that what was wrong was not British industry but the adverse conditions in which it had to operate.

The British Overseas Trade Board and its European Trade Committee are confident that our business community will respond to the opportunities which must come when the world recession gives way to growth. But it will demand yet more investment in marketing and industrial capacity as British firms continue to adapt to trading in a free European market.

The current rate of inflation is pre-empting resources needed for investment and must be brought down at least to the level of the inflation rate of our major competitors. But we cannot wait until the economic situation is perfect; and must begin at once to base our industrial output in the needs of wide European market which is likely to recover sooner and more strongly than our domestic market. This suggests that companies should review their marketing strategy and in so doing, we hope management will take the opportunity of explaining to all concerned what benefits can arrive in secure jobs and incomes.

We know that the commercial staff of the Diplomatic Service must expect an increasing demand on the Government services for British exporters to Europe and are determined to respond fully to the need. Yours, etc.  
FRED CATHERWOOD, Chairman,  
Derek Ezra,  
Chairman of the European Trade Committee,  
British Overseas Trade Board,  
1 Victoria Street, SW1,  
July 1.

### The CIA and Nasser

From Mr Fred Emery  
Sir, Since Mr Copeland (letter, July 2) volunteered his story to me I suppose he may now take it back. But I stand behind my despatch (June 19)—every word of it. Yours truly,  
FRED EMERY, Chief Washington Correspondent,  
Room 541, National Press Building,  
Washington DC.

### Booking a seat

From Mr J. G. R. Rix  
Sir, One hopes that Lady Burton (June 26) will come to recognize what a shaft of light it is that airlines have the common sense to "over book" flights, and so avoid leaving many empty seats on scheduled flights—each one costing £15 and often £100 or more.

At the risk of occasionally having a passenger "inconvenienced" by having to wait a few hours or even a day, usually at a hotel at airline expense—tens of thousands of pounds a year are saved.

On the other side of the service coin, how excellent that those who miss their flight or cancel late—leaving "their" seat empty—do not have to pay for another ticket—and how crowded would airport lounges be if everybody "made sure" of not losing their £15 seat by arriving two hours early in case of hold ups.

One views with horror the waste involved in British Airways' back-up for their Scottish service and the pride with which they put on an extra plane for seven passengers instead of asking them to wait an hour.

How long will it be before the vast waste through excessive "service" much as ever capacity on airline routes or excess power generating capacity to meet every possible demand peak, is recognized as a major drag on our standard of living?

Yours faithfully,  
J. G. R. RIX,  
Widmore,  
Headhouse,  
Nr Bordon, Hampshire.  
June 26.

### How they salute

From Captain A. D. H. Jap, RN ret'd  
Sir, I think I may be able to give Miss Jelley some help in her inquiries (June 25). A sailor salutes as he does because his calling requires it. He has a permanent tan permanently stained with tarred hemp or, in more recent times, oily wire ropes. So in saluting he exposes to his superior only the clean side, the back of his hand.

A soldier or a Royal Marine is not normally required to handle ropes, so perhaps he can be expected to show that both sides of his hand are clean.

Do airmen salute? If so, how? Yours truly,  
A. D. H. JAP,  
21 Main Street,  
East Bridgford,  
Nottinghamshire.

### Best-seller lists

From Mr Egon Ronay  
Sir, "Best-seller lists" some newspapers publish are notoriously surprising to many publishers. The great difficulty of compiling such lists accurately is no consolation in those who are not on such lists, though they demonstrably outsell parallel publications which are. I am told by *The Sunday Times* that their list is based on a list of books assembled for them by the literary editor of a provincial newspaper. This is sent to 120 bookshops which insert the numbers sold against these suggested books and may remember to add those which are not suggested. Is it beyond the resources of British publishers to devise a less fallible system? Yours faithfully,  
EGON RONAY,  
Queen's House,  
Leicester Square, WC2.

From Mr C. E. Carrington  
Sir, In today's *Times* (July 1) with the world falling into chaos around us I am diverted by the correspondence in your columns about the left-hand salute. The chronology is interesting. April 1918 was for the British Army the worst crisis of World War I. Controversy raged in your columns over reinforcements for Haig. We the Government and the War Office withholding them in England? A few days after Haig's "back-to-the-wall" message, the War Office responded with its message to the nation. It was Army Order, No 246 April 1918, abolishing the left-hand salute. I am, Sir, etc.  
C. E. CARRINGTON,  
55 Canonbury Park South, N1,  
July 1.



# "At Bronnley, we value the Midland's advice and understanding of our business"

—Ann Rossiter, granddaughter of the founder of the House of Bronnley

The House of Bronnley is no commonplace business.

It first made superfine and triple-milled perfume soaps as long ago as 1883.

Today, at its Brackley works in Northamptonshire, almost every important operation is still carried out by hand, from the compounding of perfumes, some of which contain as many as 150 ingredients, to the making of the distinctive, hinged cedarwood boxes in which Bronnley soaps are hand-packed.

The House of Bronnley produces a complete range of hand creams, talcum, bubble-baths, cubes, oils and colognes—as well as soaps.



Bronnley soaps are hand-packed for sale all over the world.

and we could scarcely imagine doing business through a bank with less experience and understanding of us than the Midland.

"We maintained our connection when we moved to Brackley in 1960. And in 1968, the Midland enabled us to finance the building of larger working premises nearby."

exported, and we rely on the Midland for discounting bills and for short-term finance. "We also consult the Bank whenever we consider new overseas agents."

## Continuity and the future

"We are a family business," says Ann



Summertime directors' meetings are often held in the rose gardens of Bronnley's headquarters.

## A matter of personality

"In 1904, the company moved to Acton from its original premises in Verulam Street, Islington," says Ann Rossiter, granddaughter of Bronnley's founder. "My grandfather played golf regularly with his Midland Bank manager, and we still maintain an account at Acton."

"We are an extremely individualistic family,



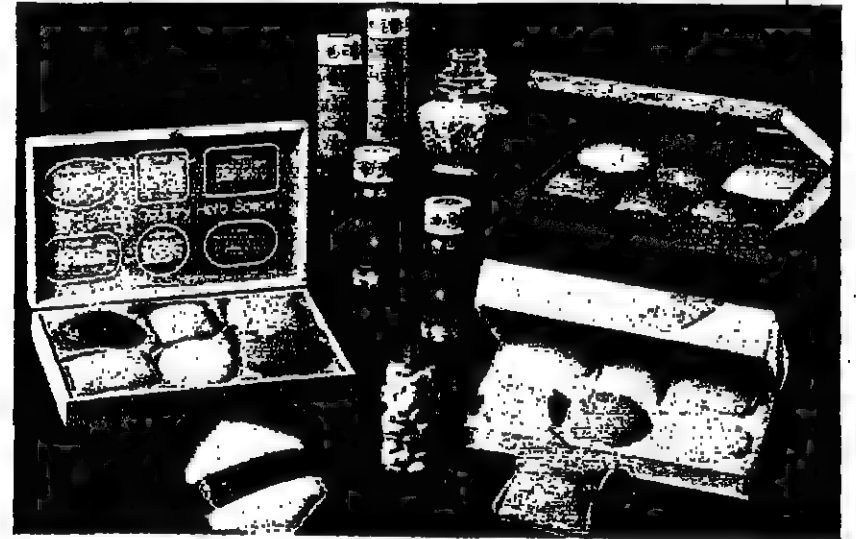
The unique formulae of Bronnley fragrances are a carefully guarded secret.

## Midland services and support

"Apart from the normal banking services, which it provides with such efficiency, the Midland helps us in many ways.

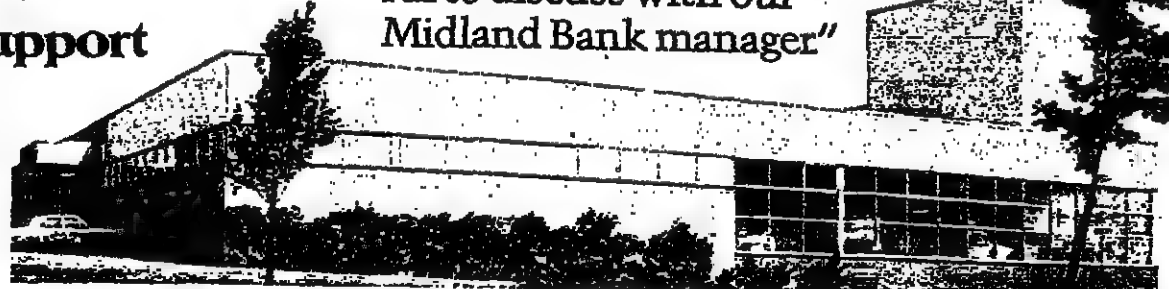
"It helps finance stocks of the very expensive pure oils and essences for our perfumes, which can run into six figures in value at times.

"Almost a third of our production is



Rossiter, "and we intend to stay so.

"Our problem is to control our growth sensibly, and this is another of the problems we find it helpful to discuss with our Midland Bank manager"



Bronnley's new Brackley works with landscaped gardens.

Your local Midland branch can provide you with further details on the range of services available from Midland Bank Group.



## Midland Bank Group

**Principal trading companies:** Midland Bank Limited, Clydesdale Bank Limited, Clydesdale Bank Finance Corporation Limited, Clydesdale Bank Insurance Services Limited, Scottish Computer Services Limited, Northern Bank Limited, Northern Bank Development Corporation Limited, Northern Bank Executor and Trustee Company Limited, Northern Bank Trustee Company Limited, Midland Bank Trust Company Limited, Midland Bank Finance Corporation Limited, Forward Trust Limited, Midland Montagu Leasing Limited, Griffin Factors Limited, Midland Bank Trust Corporation (Jersey) Limited, Midland Bank Trust Corporation (Guernsey) Limited, Midland Bank Insurance Services Limited, The Thomas Cook Group Limited, Thomas Cook Limited, Thomas Cook Overseas Limited, Thomas Cook Bankers Limited, Samuel Montagu & Co. Limited (Incorporating Drayton), Drayton Montagu Portfolio Management Limited, Northern Bank Finance Corporation Limited, Midland Montagu Industrial Finance Limited, Jersey International Bank of Commerce Limited, Bland Payne Holdings Limited, Bland Payne Limited, Bland Payne Reinsurance Brokers Limited, Bland Payne (UK) Limited, Southern Marine & Aviation Underwriters Inc., Bland Payne Australia Limited, Guyerzeller Zuercher Bank AG.

هكذا من الأصل







## Stock Exchange prices

# Early gains lost

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings Began, June 30. Dealings End, July 11. § Contango Day, July 14. Settlement Day, July 22  
 § Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days.

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[illegible]



# THE TIMES

## BUSINESS NEWS

**Lovell**  
for CONSTRUCTION

### Weak demand pushes short-time working to 23-year peak

Tim Congdon, short-time working in British industry in April was at its highest level for a normal month since 1952, according to figures released in today's *Department of Employment Gazette*. Some 237,000 workers, or 4.4 per cent of all operatives employed in manufacturing industry, were laid off for part of the week during the month, compared with 220,000, or 4.1 per cent, in March.

Although the proportion of labour force on short-time working in April, 1975, and January, 1974, was the same, this was attributable to seasonal factors such as the winter strike and the three-week but the high figure clearly reflects the weakness of demand in the labour market.

A year earlier, in April, 1974, the proportion of industrial workers on short-time was only 0.7 per cent. As late as December, 1974, it was 1.3 per cent. Vehicle manufacturers are being badly affected by the downturn, as well as by recent strikes. About 8.9 per cent of all operatives in the industry are on short-time. But conditions are almost as serious in clothing and footwear, where short-time amounts to 8.5 per cent.

The number of workers on overtime has also declined steadily in recent months. In April, 31 per cent of all operatives in manufacturing industry were working on overtime. This compares with 35.7 per cent doing eight and a half hours in December, 1974, and 33.7 per cent doing eight and a half hours in April, 1974.

Against the clothing and footwear industries are the worst hit, with a mere 6.9 per cent of the workforce involved.

### Disturbing view of JK from Brussels

on Michael Hornsby, Brussels, July 2

The European Commission has given a warning that "a steady growth and a gradual reduction of unemployment" in Community member states would be "unacceptable" less than a "serious" slowing in the rise of prices in those countries where remains excessive."

In the second of its quarterly economic reports for 1975, the Commission said that Britain's "short-term economic outlook in particular" would mean "disturbing" unless some contract guidelines were strictly observed, or some other policy designed to moderate wage inflation.

By coincidence, the Commission's draft report, which will be discussed at a Council meeting of EEC finance ministers in Brussels on July 10, was released just a day after the

announcement by Mr Healey, the Chancellor, of measures to reduce inflation and restore confidence in the pound.

The proposed 10 per cent ceiling on wage increases has been privately warmly welcomed here, the Commission generally refrains from public comment on specific decisions by EEC member governments and even goes beyond what it had been thought reasonable to hope for. There remain doubts about how strictly the new measures will be enforced.

The Commission singled out inflation as the "key problem" confronting Britain. Unless inflation was mastered, Britain's other main economic problems: rising unemployment, falling investment, the balance of payments deficit and the record public sector borrowing requirement, would remain a large cause of concern.

### Burmah cuts tanker bill

Burmah Oil has bought its way out of some of its tanker problems with the conclusion of an agreement between Burmah Oil Tankers and Japan, by which two VLCC tankers to the former have been cancelled. Burmah's fleet, in consequence, reduced from 41 to 39 tankers, of which 17 are laid up.

Time charters on the two vessels, which Burmah took out in 1973, were due to expire in 1975 and 1976, and the two would have cost \$15m (about 70m) over the whole term. Burmah has now agreed to pay 20m in lieu of future charter payments, plus about \$4m for other charges, including demurrage, incurred to date.

Part of this sum is to be paid immediately, while the rest is due over an 18-month period. Over the period to the end of the charter, the group has saved itself about \$47m by the deal, but in the short term the benefits to cash flow are relatively modest, because only around \$36m would have been payable over the next two years under the original charter.

Fructified by Edin Cooper, director of Burmah's Edwin Cooper division, agreement on which was reached in March, has now been completed. The price, subject to adjustment, is \$46m.

### Intereuropean Property Holdings Limited

The following are extracts from the statement by the Chairman, Mr. Laurie P. Marsh:

The improvement in profitability of Classic has already been seen from the first half-year results. Now, in the second half of the current year, we are continuing to reap the benefits of the reorganisation the effect of which will be even more noticeable in the year commencing 1 August, 1976.

Measles Options, Chartered Surveys, revealed the French properties as at 31 January 1975 on an open market basis as between willing buyer and willing vendor at a total of 171 million FF. The net effect is that your Group's 75 per cent interest in these three developments now shows a surplus of nearly 50 million FF. Shareholders can be assured of continually increasing revenue from France which will add materially to Group profitability year by year.

The agreement concluded with Mecca Limited in January 1974 means that practically all of the Group's UK properties are income producing.

Your Board has decided to shelve all UK development for the time being.

Well over half the Group's total property assets are now overseas.

Your Group can look forward to increasing revenue and profitability from the three principal divisions within it. Classic with its expansion plans, organically financed and its substantially improved trading trend; France with its increasing rental flow and where further developments are now planned and the UK property portfolio benefiting from increasing growth in income and substantial capital realisations.

I have no hesitation in forecasting an increased dividend for the current year to be amply covered by profits.

The Chairman addressing the meeting said:

Short-term borrowings have been reduced by well over £1 million since the year end and further material reductions are imminent. At current exchange rates the net asset value of the Group's French property subsidiaries is equal to over 40p per share.

### Gilts build on earlier gains to close at top

By Our Financial Staff

Gilts had an excellent day and continued the strong advance which began on Tuesday and gathered momentum after Mr Healey's statement. Trading volume was at quite high levels and prices closed at the top.

The Government's apparent determination to check inflation was the main helpful influence, with discussion centred on the 10 per cent pay limit and the implications of cash limits for the public sector borrowing requirement.

Gains in "shorts" were mostly of 1 point, in "longs" they amounted to 1 or 2 points. Share prices were seen as market professionals struggled against conflicting views of the Chancellor's measures. Some confusion was caused by reports that there would be no statutory wage control, but share prices quickly turned higher after Mr Healey repeated that legislation would be brought in if pay increases exceeded government limits.

But the day's gains were lost in late afternoon, when prices wilted as buyers withdrew. The FT index ended 0.2 down at 3153 after soaring earlier to 3255.

Engineering shares, particularly vulnerable to wage inflation, had a busy session, as did leading exporters like Unilever. At and ICI. Relieved by the absence of immediate cuts in public spending and by indications that the housing market is picking up, building shares moved higher.

Under present legislation, investors would generally be able to avoid paying capital gains tax on such investments. This is because the Government has stated that it is to compensate shareholders in cases of nationalization by the issue of Government securities.

Unlike cash payment, payment in securities does not automatically create a potential capital gains tax liability, while the ultimate disposal of government securities, where they have been held for more than 12 months, is also free of any capital gains tax liability.

But in a written parliamentary answer yesterday, Mr Joel Barnett, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, indicated that, under amending legislation next year, any gains accruing on shares up to the time of compensation would become liable to tax.

In a similar way any capital losses would become available for the normal relief. The tax assessment itself would be made at the time of the disposal of the government securities issued by way of compensation.

### Food chief fears tighter price control

By Our Financial Staff

Mr John Sainsbury, chairman of J. Sainsbury, has given a warning against tighter price controls in the Government measures to control inflation, to be decided next week.

In a speech at the big food retailer's annual general meeting in London yesterday, he said: "While there may be some changes in the methods of price control, I do not think it reasonable that, given the thin profit margins in food retailing, any new measures can be effectively more severe than those we have now."

Mr Sainsbury claimed that the "wage per se" of the past 18 months meant that the steps announced by the Chancellor could not be increases already in the pipeline.

The Financial News, page 22

### Six managing directors named at Brandts

By Christopher Williams

Six managing directors have been appointed at Brandts in a sweeping management reshuffle set in train by Grindlays Bank, the merchant bank's parent.

The key appointment, as expected, is that of Mr Dick Jackson, who has become senior managing director and a director of Grindlays. Mr Jackson, who is 38, was brought into Brandts last month from First National City Bank two weeks after it was confirmed that Citibank was raising its stake in Grindlays from 40 to 49 per cent in return for an injection of new capital.

Mr Jackson replaces Mr Michael Andrews, who ceased to be chief executive last month. The title of managing director is a new one for Brandts, although the other five appointments are all of existing senior executives. They are: Mr Malcolm Bates, who will run the industrial, commercial, investment and timber interests; Mr Geoffrey Dods, who will take charge of all international activities; Mr Ian Michie, who will be responsible for domestic banking; Mr Philip Ralph, who will head up the United Kingdom financial services; and Mr Brian Tritton, who is in charge of the treasury department.

### UK RESERVES

The following are the figures for the United Kingdom's official reserves at the end of the month issued by the Treasury yesterday:

	\$m	£m	Change in month
1971	6,582	2,526	-
1972	5,646	2,404	-
1973	6,476	2,787	-
1974	6,789	2,890	-
1975	6,880	2,799	-31
July	6,842	2,953	+162
Aug	7,170	3,074	+328
Sept	7,547	3,230	+477
Oct	7,824	3,384	+537
Nov	8,789	3,680	+1,035
Dec	8,833	2,870	+44
Jan	7,064	2,908	+231
Feb	7,117	2,962	+53
March	7,132	3,032	+15
April	6,491	2,802	-641
May	6,198	2,837	-293
June			

\* Sterling figures from 1971 to May 1972 valued at the Smithsonian parity rate of \$2.80571, and from June 1972 at the closing rate on the last day of the period. Gold and SDRs valued at their dollar per at the time.

### Norton facing end of cash support

By Edward Townsend

Strong signs emerged last night that the Government will make no further financial aid available to the troubled Norton Villiers Triumph motor cycle group.

Although no official government decision has been made on the company's plea for up to £40m of state support over the next three years, NVT is now understood to have had indications that no extra cash will be forthcoming.

Mr Eric Varley, the Industry Secretary, has already urged NVT to make "no irrevocable decisions" and in a written Commons answer on the issue yesterday he said that future government policy towards the British motor cycle industry would not be formulated until an independent consultants' report on the industry had been received. The report is expected by the middle of this month.

However, NVT has stressed in recent weeks the need for quick decision and has already begun meetings with union officials to discuss a substantial cut in motor cycle production after the company's holiday shutdown which ends on August 2.

NVT's call for more state aid came in May when it gave a warning that the alternatives were redundancies or the closure of one of its two Midlands factories.

Mr Dennis Poore, the NVT chairman, has persistently maintained that a three-factory United Kingdom motor cycle industry—including the Triumph workers' cooperative at the former NVT factory at Meriden—was not a sound proposition.

The company has also made clear to the Government that complete nationalization of the industry is the best solution to NVT's financial problems. Its difficulties were underlined by the publication yesterday of NVT's accounts which revealed that the company had made a £5.8m loss in the 20 months up to the end of March.

In a statement, NVT said that time was running out and the dangers arising from the Government's endorsement of the three-factory industry without a prior commitment to provide the necessary finance "are crowding in upon us."

Mr Poore, in a further bid to lay the blame on the cooperative, said: "Without Meriden there would have been no problem. Let us forget the recrimination however and all join together in what could be the renaissance of the British motor cycle industry. If the Government fails us, changing its mind yet again, the outlook must indeed be grim."

Public ownership of the entire industry now seems to be the most likely and acceptable course for the Government, a step that would be bitterly opposed by the cooperative.

### Extension of capital gains tax

By Our Financial Staff

The Government is to introduce legislation in the 1976 Finance Bill to tax net capital gains made by investors in shares of companies that are nationalized.

Under present legislation, investors would generally be able to avoid paying capital gains tax on such investments. This is because the Government has stated that it is to compensate shareholders in cases of nationalization by the issue of Government securities.

Unlike cash payment, payment in securities does not automatically create a potential capital gains tax liability, while the ultimate disposal of government securities, where they have been held for more than 12 months, is also free of any capital gains tax liability.

But in a written parliamentary answer yesterday, Mr Joel Barnett, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, indicated that, under amending legislation next year, any gains accruing on shares up to the time of compensation would become liable to tax.

In a similar way any capital losses would become available for the normal relief. The tax assessment itself would be made at the time of the disposal of the government securities issued by way of compensation.

### Car output down by almost a third

Effects of industrial disputes on the British motor industry in May, and confirmed by the latest figures from the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders show that production dropped to a weekly average of 18,043, almost 5,500 a week fewer than in April.

British Leyland's weekly output fell by half in May compared with the same month last year to an average of 9,136. Chrysler, Ford and Vauxhall also suffered a marked decline in production rates.

### France formally returns to the 'snake'

From Charles Hargrove Paris, July 2

The French Cabinet decided today that the franc would return to the European "snake" on July 10. This is the formal implementation of the decision announced by President Giscard d'Estaing on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the launching of the Coal and Steel Community.

The decision is both political and economic; political, as a gesture of confidence in European unity; economic, because as the President stressed in May, "the consolidation of our foreign trade position will enable France to take part once more in the mechanism of concerted floating of European currencies known as the snake".

France left the snake provisionally on January 21 last year, in order to safeguard the reserves of the Bank of France.

In his television talk on Monday, the President emphasized that the government's objective had been to restore the trade balance, seriously undermined by the sharp increase in the cost of oil imports and other raw materials by the end of this year. Actually, this had been achieved ahead of time because the trade surplus for the first five months of 1975 amounted to 4,000m francs (about £44m).

This is the sixth increase in the decision 18 months ago to let the franc float was a sharp fall on the exchanges. But as a result of the firm policy of austerity introduced by the government, the franc has now practically recovered the ground it had lost and is back practically to the same level, in relation to the other currencies in the "snake", as it was 18 months ago.

The return to the snake is something of a gamble. But the government feels the recovery of the franc is sufficiently secure to preclude the risk that it might have to leave the snake again.

Another decision made by the cabinet today was to increase the national minimum wage to 7.55 francs an hour from July 1. This is the sixth increase in one year. In July, 1974, the national minimum wage stood at 6.40 francs an hour. The new minimum is based on an average working week of 42 hours, and corresponds to a monthly wage of 1,395 francs (about £155).

### How the markets moved

FT index: 3153 -0.2  
The Times index: 134.14 +0.86

Rises		Falls	
Atlantic Assets	10p to 46p	Barclays Bk	3p to 27 1/2p
Allied	1p to 65p	Boston Bk	8p to 30 1/2p
Boots	1p to 28 1/2p	Brit Am Tob	3p to 31 1/2p
British Land	3p to 18 1/2p	Brown, J.	7p to 53p
Diageo	5 1/2p to 14 1/2p	Bernitt Fin	5p to 12 1/2p
Dunlop Hldgs	2p to 52p	Hewitt, J.	1p to 9p
GEC	2p to 12 1/2p		
Gt Portland	14p to 20 1/2p	Int Hldgs	10p to 89 1/2p
Hawker Sid	20p to 26 1/2p	Lloyds Bk	10p to 21 1/2p
Nelson Fin	10p to 40 1/2p	Metro Town	2p to 6p
Scraggs	1 1/2p to 11p	Mang Bros	2p to 6p
Taylor Woodrow	13p to 28 1/2p	Reliance Gro	10p to 44 1/2p
Town & City	3p to 22 1/2p	Shell	6p to 30 1/2p
Vickers	3p to 12 1/2p	Western Assets	30p to 60 1/2p

Gold fell by \$1.00 to \$155.00 an oz. SDR-S was 1.23136 on Wednesday, while SDR-2 was 0.53947.

Commodities: Reuters' index closed at 1,069.4 (1,072.5 on Tuesday).

Reports, pages 22 and 23

### On other pages

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### Govan Shipbuilders want £25m more

By Our Industrial Correspondent

Govan Shipbuilders has asked the Government to provide additional cash support which could be as much as £25m.

Department of Industry officials are studying the company's request which is based on the effects of inflation on development programme and that losses are now expected to be considerably greater than forecast.

Officials emphasize that decisions on the company's future will have to be taken within the next year. Clearly the Department will be under pressure from management and workers to make a firm commitment to the company.

After the collapse of UCS, Govan Shipbuilders was formed as a wholly-owned Government company based on the former Govan, Scotstoun and Linthouse yards of UCS. The Conservative Government undertook to support the new shipbuilding unit for five years or until it became commercially viable.

Its commitment was based on a study commissioned from merchant bankers Hill, Samuel which indicated a government cash requirement of just over £35m to cover expected losses, a redevelopment programme and working capital.

Although the company (which made a loss of £5.3m last year) in the early years of its life managed to keep the losses within the projected figures, the signs are that these will be considerably exceeded in the next few years.

The redevelopment programme looks as though it will cost over £20m and together with the extra funds required to meet expected losses the total cost of support could amount to between £55-£60m.

Apart from inflation, the cost of the redevelopment has proved to be more expensive than anticipated because of additional work and delays in delivery of essential equipment.

At the same time the 5,000-strong labour force has failed to achieve the productivity improvements outlined in the Hill, Samuel report.

For social, economic and political reasons, the indication is that the Government will give the company's case a sympathetic hearing.

The company is without a finance director following the departure last week of Mr Alastair Crawford.

### EEC climbs down on limit to state aid for shipyards

From David Cross Brussels, July 2

EEC member governments will continue to be allowed to pay subsidies to their shipbuilding industries in spite of earlier attempts by the European Commission to reduce the level of such aids.

Under the terms of a new agreement in principle reached by officials of the nine in Brussels, direct state aids to shipyards will continue at their present level until the end of 1977 at least. In addition, governments will no longer have to obtain permission from the commission before granting investment aids above a certain minimum level.

Originally the commission had hoped that governments would agree to reduce their shipbuilding aid.

Under pressure from Britain and other EEC governments, the commission climbed down from the interventionist approach.

The new rules make it clear that governments will continue to be free to nationalize shipyards. At the insistence of the Italians a paragraph has been added to the commission's text clarifying this point.

### Thorn wins backing of Twist board

Thorn Electrical last night won the backing of Sheffield Twist Drill's board by raising its cash bid by 1p to 92p a share, valuing the engineering small tool maker at £12.4m.

Earlier yesterday the other bidder, SKF, the Swedish bearing maker, had finally countered by matching Thorn's bid of 91p.

At the annual meeting of Sheffield Twist Drill in Sheffield yesterday the company's chairman, Mr Norman Waple, said he and his board were backing the SKF bid.

Last night, however, the Sheffield Twist board switched their recommendation to Thorn. Mr Waple said: "It is a pity that the future of a fine company like this may have to be decided for 1p, but there we are."

The assurances we have had from both parties match each other, and we see similar benefits to Sheffield Twist of joining with either Thorn or SKF."

So the Sheffield Twist board, which accounts for around 5 per cent of the company's shares, has now decided that price should decide the battle. But SKF, when it matched Thorn's 91p, yesterday morning made it clear that it would not enter into an auction. It thought the time had come for stockholders, management and employees to decide.

For a moment yesterday it looked as though management and employees had decided—and in SKF's favour. Union support before the Thorn offer of 92p was certainly for SKF and it seems unlikely that the unions may not switch to Thorn simply because it is paying more to shareholders.

Financial Editor, page 21

### Pilkington to cut 750 jobs

Pilkington announced yesterday that it is closing its colour television glassware factory at Ravenhead, St. Helens, Lancashire, with the loss of 750 jobs. The company said it had been forced to take the step because of a serious decline in demand from colour television manufacturers.

Work is to continue on existing stocks and the closure is expected to be completed by next March.

### Jobs rescue abandoned at Imperial Typewriters

By Peter Hill

Government plans to create a British typewriter company, based on the plants closed by Imperial Typewriters at Hull and Leicester earlier this year, have been abandoned. This has opened the way for Imperial to dispose of the Hull plant, where workers have been engaged in a sit-in since February.

Details of the Government's decision are contained in letters sent to the management of the American-owned typewriter company at Hull by the Department of Industry, while local MPs and union officials have received a similar letter from Lord Bewick, Minister of State for Industry.

Imperial, owned by Litton Industries, closed the two plants because they were uneconomic, putting 1,400 workers out of jobs at Hull and a further 1,800 at Leicester.

After the closures and under pressure from constituency MPs and union leaders, the Department of Industry began an investigation into the possibility of establishing a British typewriter manufacturing capability based on the two closed plants.

Workers' representatives were invited to submit proposals and a plan was put forward by the Leicester workforce. This depended on participation by a large British company operating in a related field but this has not been forthcoming.

Firm proposals have not been submitted by the workers at Hull, where up to 300 former employees have been sitting in since the closure, and the Government is now apparently deciding that the delayed closure of the plant could threaten the possibility of new industry being attracted to the Humber-side site.

Imperial's management agreed to do nothing which would prejudice attempts to reestablish British typewriter manufacture at the two plants while the feasibility study was being undertaken.

But the Department of Industry has now released the company from any commitment to the Government and has said the company can proceed with the disposal of the assets.

At Leicester it is understood that negotiations for the sale of some parts of the plant are well advanced, but at Hull the company's position could be more difficult because of the sit-in.

There are at least two companies interested in the site. One is a small British company engaged in the sale and distribution of reconditioned IBM typewriters, while International Harvesters is understood to have put forward proposals which, if they went ahead, would mean 600 jobs.

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BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

## Renold, stocks and inflation

It was little surprise in the City, there was no announcement of a rights issue yesterday from Selection Trust. And although the gains on higher operating profits and the improvement in the operating level from 185 to 24 per cent, and the shares closed 22p down at 570p.

Last year benefited from the first full contribution from the crane ship, which looks to have been worth over £1m at the operating level, and there was also the benefit of high base-metal prices during the first half. Performance of one major profit earner, the South Bay copper and zinc mine, is bound to be affected by depressed metal prices this time round, and the dividend contribution from Tsumeb-Elm plus that of a total up from £4.5m to £5.2m is likely to be affected too.

The likely performance of the Mount Newman iron mine is uncertain, but the North Sea oil production is expected to improve, as should the big Amer divident, which profits from CAST, with which Selection Trust merged at its year-end, look to be holding steady. Meanwhile, with the Broullian mine, still being proved, the group is in no urgent need of finance, particularly now that the Amer project has for some time been put into cold storage. Rights issue fears have been behind much of the share slide from this year's peak of 680p, and with these in abeyance for the moment there should be room for some progress—even though the yield on the shares is only 3.4 per cent.

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Dividend gross 21.3p (18.5p)

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## Half a loaf, half a loaf, half a loaf onwards

The Chancellor has done something about unemployment or, rather, about its likely rate of increase next year. It is obscure from his statement to the House of Commons on Tuesday whether he has done anything about inflation.

Well-bred Keynesian economist of the post-war Oxford tradition—the school which dominated and still dominates the economic section of the Treasury and the National Institute of Economic and Social Research—will find this assessment paradoxical, even deliberately perverse. For, they will say, Mr Healey was comparatively specific about pay restraint while he had little to say about budgetary policy.

But that is precisely the point. Postwar orthodoxy has held that there are three problems—or target variables, as they are sometimes infelicitously called—and that there are three policy instruments for solving, or "achieving", them: the real level of economic activity to be regulated by budgetary policy; the balance of payments to be regulated by exchange rate policy (pace the Bank of England); and the rate of inflation to be regulated by incomes policy.

Four years ago Professor Lord Kaldor proposed his famous inversion of two of these matches, thereby giving birth to the "New Cambridge School". This holds that, in practice, policy will be more successful if the exchange rate is used to regulate the level of economic activity and budgetary

policy is used to regulate the balance of payments. But another, and even more important, inversion is suggested by the insights into the relationship between public finance, economic activity and price behaviour which we owe to Professor Milton Friedman of Chicago University. This is that budgetary policy should be used to regulate the rate of inflation while incomes policy (combined in an open economy with exchange rate policy) is used to regulate the level of economic activity, specifically of unemployment.

Professor Friedman himself would not endorse this, since he believes that collective bargaining can exercise no general influence over either inflation or unemployment, and that therefore direct restraint of collective bargaining is necessarily irrelevant to these matters. But there are others who believe that, at least in economies with highly organized labour markets, collective bargaining can in the short run raise unit labour costs and thereby confront governments with the unhappy choice between allowing unemployment to rise and underwriting the higher costs with inflationary public finance—thereby producing the classic dilemma and recurrent failure of post-war economic policies.

If this view is combined with Professor Friedman's theory of the long-run impact of public finance—it matters not for these purposes whether fiscal or monetary weapons are held to be the true essence of public finance—it then follows that

public finance should be geared to the target rate of inflation while pay restraint is geared to the desired level of economic activity, particularly of employment. This, as far as I know, novel formulation and integration of two increasingly familiar basic thoughts has an important bearing on the interpretation of the Chancellor's holding statement this week.

Mr Healey, as Shadow Chancellor 18 months ago, was closer to subscribing to the new approach defined here than he is now. This change is hardly surprising after 16 months of Treasury advice. Of course, in the real world all three problems, or targets, to some degree; and the total outcome is only determinate when all three policy variables have been specified.

The argument for attaching particular weapons to particular problems is heuristic rather than descriptive, in the sense that while it does not adequately describe the network of causes and effects which operate in the real world, it does offer a better rule of thumb than the postwar orthodoxy. So what can one infer about the likely consequences of Mr Healey's partial statement this week?

Clearly, the Chancellor himself is not now fully seized of the new inverted approach, since he prefaced his statement by assigning "controlling priority" to curbing the rate of domestic inflation and then talked almost exclusively about his hopes for pay restraint. To some extent this

may have disguised his true intentions, which were undoubtedly to succour sterling by dialing the things which bankers were rightly or wrongly presumed rightly or wrongly to want to hear, without at the same time formally admitting that the Government was abandoning its principles for the umpteenth time this century in the face of a "bankers' ramp".

For the longer-run broad effect of restraining collective bargaining—if that is defined as increasing the demand elasticity of pay rather than as regimenting the labour market—is to raise the level of employment which will occur (given a fully floating pound) at any given rate of inflation. In other words, fewer people will be pricing themselves out of whatever flow of money incomes future budgetary policies determine.

In the short term—over the next couple of years—the effects of pay restraint will be to moderate the rise in unemployment which will occur if fiscal and monetary policies are directed towards progressively reducing the annual increase in the money supply and in the gross national product, values at current prices. Equally, the effect will be to reduce unemployment in so far as fiscal and monetary policies resume their traditionally inflationary course from the end of this year.

All of which makes it essential to know—beyond the Chancellor's Delphic references to employing "the system of cash limits more generally as a means of controlling public

expenditure in the short term", while not affecting the borrowing requirement and not cutting public spending—what the posture of fiscal and monetary policy now are in terms of the target rates of change in the money supply and the gap at current prices.

The Treasury's present estimate is that the borrowing requirement will be as stated in the Budget. But we need to know how that result is to be ensured, rather than hoped for, and how such a deficit can be financed, consistently with the necessarily moderate growth in the money supply, now that the current account deficit on the balance of payments (and the associated surplus on capital account) has disappeared.

These uncertainties also illustrate the wisdom of the Treasury's insistence in earlier and more successful days that Chancellors should not make statements of policy until they know what policy they are going to state. No doubt the Chancellor felt his hand was forced on this occasion by the foreign exchange markets—a regrettable self-deception, since his exchange rate policy is the only mainly correct part of his strategy to date. But until the other shoe drops and we know whether the hints about public spending are to become a real element in the management of public finance from now on, we shall not know whether the Chancellor has prepared a pretext for a dangerous reinflation or a useful buttress to a true policy of disinflation.

## Gough Cooper Housebuilding trends

Gough Cooper's shares at 73p yesterday are down from this year's high by around a quarter, and that would seem to be fully justified by the rather pessimistic statement made by the group along with its interim results yesterday.

The apparent fall in sales is due to the much smaller incidence of land sales this year, and masks a rise of around 5 per cent on the housebuilding side in the opening six months of the year. But with profits down from £1m to £0.8m, margins have continued under considerable pressure. A step or two up from the lower price ranges, where most of the recovery has been, and still heavily committed as a housebuilder in the South-east, Gough Cooper has manifestly not benefited from the encouraging signs of an upturn heralded in other quarters of the housebuilding sector.

Profits from sales of undeveloped land are down from a hefty £1.2m to £0.2m, but the absence of write-offs (£600,000 for the comparable period last year) and lower interest charges helped contain the drop in earnings.

The group is maintaining turnover by increased proportion of non-private construction, and this area, that includes housing association projects but no local authority work, might survive any cutbacks that threaten depending upon how the £100m of building society funds to be channelled into housing is divided up.

This side is now accounting for around two thirds of housebuilding compared with 28 per cent over the same period last year, but the outlook for the private sector, as far as Gough Cooper is concerned, looks unimproving for the rest of the year. So do the shares, despite a yield of around 11 per cent assuming a maintained dividend. One major point in the group's favour, however, is the dramatic reduction in short-term borrowings, which now amount to £1.2m as against £3.7m at the last year-end. Debtors are evidently a sound management, the shares could drift lower in front of any indication of improving volume in the middle priced housing market.

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Capitalization £5.9m  
Sales £7.5m (£8m)  
Pre-tax profits £1.1m (£1.5m)  
Dividend gross 3p (3p)

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## How the West Germans have made a success of worker directors

There are usually two surprises in store for the British visitor to an annual shareholders' meeting of a large German company. The first is the sheer length—it is usually more than five hours by the time everybody has had his say. The second is the presence of trade unionists or company employees among the members of the company's supervisory board.

Dressed as soberly as any German businessman and sitting among the bankers and industrialists who have been elected to represent the shareholders' interests, the workers' representatives on the data are a visible expression of "co-determination" or Mitbestimmung in German companies.

West Germany has the longest tradition of worker participation at board level in Europe. But in the past four years employees in firms in Holland and then Sweden have been given the opportunity to take up supervisory board positions.

In all three countries the workers' representatives enjoy as individuals equal rights with the supervisory board members representing the shareholders' interests. They help to appoint and oversee the managing board which carries out the day-to-day running of the company and participate in crucial decisions on investment, financing, rationalization and personnel policy.

Backing up co-determination at the top are workers' councils or commissions, which, at plant or office level, provide a forum for consultation and consultation between management and employees.

At a time when industrial democracy is still very much a novelty in Britain, it is hard to realize that for nearly 25 years in the West German steel and coal industries employees and shareholders' representatives have operated a system of parity in representation on supervisory boards. The coal and steel industries were singled out for this unique experiment in 1951 as it was felt that they represented the most conservative and reactionary element in German industry.

A typical example of a supervisory board in either industry would have 11 members—five of them representing the shareholders and five the employees, with an eleventh neutral member to solve cases of stalemate.

Under the second variation of co-determination in West Germany, employees are entitled to a one-third participation in the supervisory boards of companies with more than 500 workers. Secret ballots are used to elect the representatives.

On smaller supervisory boards where there are only one or two places for workers' representatives, the candidates must come from within the company concerned. Only when there are more than two such places can an outsider, like a trade union official, find a seat on the board. As a result, union presence tends to be confined

## Peter Norman

disagreed on how to fit senior executives into the co-determination model and how to solve possible deadlock situations. Since then they have been trying to negotiate a settlement. The still birth of the German cabinet draft points to the strong element of controversy that still surrounds co-determination in West Germany.

Neither the Swedish nor the Dutch systems come near to providing automatic parity of representation. In Sweden employees of a company with at















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